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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1980

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DETAILS PROVIDED ON PINPOINTING ENEMY ARTILLERY POSITIONS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 49, 1981 (signed to press 30 Nov 81) p 8

[Article by Lt Hans-Joachim Plaul: "The Ears of the Artillery: The Enemy Detected Through Sound Ranging"]

[Text] Artillery has at its disposal reconnaissance and surveying units so that artillery fire can also be accurately guided to far distant and often invisible targets. In close cooperation with each other, they fulfill a complex mission with their reconnaissance helicopters and radar or sound ranging equipment. This little known area within the artillery is to be illustrated briefly by showing the combat possibilities of a sound ranging platoon.

The sound ranging reconnaissance method has already been used successfully by the Soviet army in the Great Patriotic War. It was responsible for more than 70 percent of the reconnoitered enemy artillery pieces. Based on these good experiences, such batteries and platoons were therefore established when the National People's Army was founded in 1956.

Battle Order

What role does sound play in reconnaissance? Certainly everyone has at one time or another measured the time between lightening and the following thunder in order to measure how far the thunderstorm was away. This is based on the fact that in the atmosphere, sound travels approximately 333 meters per second. This means that it needs about three seconds for one kilometer. But sound ranging reconnaissance does not attempt to find approximate distances, but rather precise coordinates of enemy artillery positions. This means that the technical task is far more complex than in the example mentioned. The "ears" of the sound ranging platoon are sound indicators which have as their cire small microphone capsules which pick up the infrasound (frequency up to 16 HZ) and transform it into electrical impulses.

In accordance with the requirements of the battle, four to six microphones are placed in a large semicircle 2 to 2.5 km from the front line of their own troops. They are facing the area in which enemy artillery positions are suspected to be. The distance between them is 1 to 1.5 km, which means that a sound ranging platoon can cover the considerable span of 4 to 7 km. This makes it possible to reconnoiter all enemy artillery having a caliber of more than 100 mm in an area 5 to 8 km wide and up to 25 km deep

As opposed to other reconnaissance means, sound ranging has the advantage that it is almost totally independent from visibility and weather conditions. Only extremely stormy weather with wind velocities of more than 100 m/s would hinder reconnaissance considerably.

The Principle

Let's take another look at the technical principle in order to show additional important characteristics. The electrical impulses of microphones must be transmitted to an analyzing vehicle which may be positioned in the center of the battlefield. Until now there was only a cable connection for this. The long time required to connect it and to change positions no longer meets the requirement for the greater speed of modern battle. The additionally created radio transmittal of impulses in the modern sound ranging complex eliminates this disadvantage, but it offers the enemy--as opposed to the wire connection--the possibility of discovering the source of the transmittal. For this reason, a practical combination of both variations, depending on the mission, is used in these modern complexes. No matter whether wire or radio connections are used: All "threads" come together in the analyzer. The sound waves which have been converted to electrical impulses are amplified and then appear on a moving paper roll in the recorder as clearly visible waves.

With electronic pocket calculators, target coordinates are arrived at 3 minutes after the sound is picked up. For greater accuracy, (there is a 1-percent deviation in distance and 0-04 or 0.24° laterally), the site of the sound ranging unit must be measured. The most modern measuring vehicles of the complex make that possible. During the drive, a marker enters the distance covered on a card which has been inserted in the navigation device. The coordinates can be read at any random point. When the angle of deflection is required, gyrocompasses which have a maximum error of 0-00.13 (0.0083°) are available.

Will Power is a Requirement

What would all this special technology be worth without its skillful mastery by well trained soldiers? Members of the sound rangers must possess a high degree of discipline, will power, consciousness and responsibility, when they, for example, must hold their position for hours, sometimes for days, in icy cold weather or scorching heat. The advance warning guard holds a special position. His position is so far advanced from that of the platoon that he can switch on the recording device as soon as he sees or hears the enemy fire, even before the sound waves reach the sound indicator. Constant alertness is most vital, because if he misses a shot, the enemy may not be engaged in time.

In summary: Modern sound ranging complexes make it possible to reconnoiter enemy artillery quickly and reliably. They can also direct the fire of their own artillery. Instead of recording the fire, detonations of grenades are recorded and from that their deviations from the target are found. This makes it possible to engage targers located on rear slopes or behind forests, which can not be observed or mreasured directly with optical devices.

9328
CSO: 2300/105

ORDER ON CIVIL DEFENSE INSTRUCTION PUBLISHED

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 26, 2 Sep 81 p 325

[Official text of "Order of 3 August 1981 on Training and Advanced Training of Citizens in Basic Knowledge of Civil Defense," signed by Lt Gen Peter, Chief, GDR Civil Defense, East Berlin]

[Text] On the basisi of Article 15 of the 13 October 1978 Defense Law (GBI. I No 35p 377), the following is ordered to carry out Article 6 of this law in agreement with the appropriate ministers and heads of other central state agencies, the Free German Federation of Trade Unions, as well as other social organizations.

Article I

Applicability

This regulation applies to the central and local state agencies for combines, leading economic organizations, enterprises, installations and cooperatives (hereinafter called concerns), as well as citizens' social organizations.

Article 2

Principles, Goals and Tasks

1. GDR citizens must be given a basic knowledge of civil defense in order to prepare the population for the protection against the consequences of possible acts of military aggression, of catastrophies, and of their rights and duties as set forth in the Defense Law to participate in the preparation and execution of civil defense measures.

2. Training in basic knowledge of civil defense is based on the program established by the head of civil defense in the GDR.

3. The ministers and heads of other central state agencies are entitled to expand, i.e., to specifically outline details regarding special themes, should a particularity in their sphere of responsibility require it.

4. Training of students in general education classes and of apprentices in vocational schools is carried out in accordance with regulations by the minister of education and the national secretary for vocational training, respectively.

Article 3

Responsibility

1. The ministers (with the exception of military authorities) and the heads of other central agencies, the chairmen of local councils and the heads of concerns are responsible for the preparation and execution of training measures within their area of responsibility.

2. The heads of social organizations assure the training of employees they are in charge of.

Article 4

Carrying out of Training

1. As a rule, training of workers in the basic knowledge of civil defense takes place outside of regular working hours, i.e., within the schedule of adult education. Exceptions are set forth in Article 5.

2. In order to strengthen knowledge and skills gained, (a) training of workers is to be repeated in five-year training cycles. This will take three to four hours annually; (b) citizens are to take part in civil defense exercises.

3. As a rule, training is to be conducted by immediate superiors of collectives (master craftsmen, department heads, homeroom teachers) or other suited trainers. The number of people trained in each collective is not to exceed 30.

4. The trainers must be taught how to teach basic knowledge of civil defense within the context of their professional training and advanced training.

5. The trainers must teach the knowledge and skills necessary to carry out civil defense measures. Training must be clear and related to practice.

6. Trainers must assure the active participation of the trainees and must evaluate their qupstions, suggestions and the training results.

7. The German Red Cross of the GDR, in conjunction with the Workers Health Service, supports the workers' training in the basic knowledge of civil defense by giving instructions in self-help and first aid.

8. The population is residential areas must be prepared to carry out the most important protective measures through education, primarily in the context of political community work.

Article 5

Instructions About Siren Signals

1. Workers, students, apprentices and college students must receive instructions annually about siren warning and alarm signals.

2. Instructions must be carried out in the first quarter of each year, and may not exceed 30 minutes.

3. Instructions must be aimed at (2) the quick, disciplined and correct conduct in dangerous situations, (b) the mastery of the concrete rules of conduct for trainees at their place of work following sirens.

4. Proof of instruction and participation is mandatory. The work protection control book, i.e., the class journal, can be used for this.

Article 6

Final Rule

This regulation becomes effective 1 December 1981.

9328
CSO: 2300/106

GOALS OF TRADE UNION PROPAGANDA SPELLED OUT

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 6, 1981 pp 3-12

[Article by Gyula Virizlay: "Convincingly, Effectively"]

[Text] According to Lenin's interpretation agitation and propaganda are nothing more than getting people to understand and accept, encouraging thought and action, thus to have an effect on the formulation and execution of tasks. The trade unions also try to influence the course of events in a good direction. With their membership of several millions they help to get understood and accepted the policy which incorporates the goal and tasks of socialist building work and the principles, resolutions and laws which aid the realization of this policy. And they try to do all this in a way which the workers can understand, feel and "see." In this way trade union propaganda and agitation aid socialist construction work and the everyday tasks deriving from this, help one to see how work done by an individual fits into the realization of the goals of the enterprise and of society.

The trade unions undertake as their own the policy and goals of socialist society and are committed to the cause of the worker class and socialist building work. In addition and in a close interdependency with this they are committed to represent and defend the interests of their members. This commitment is interpreted to mean that he who feels the power to be his own has an obligation to care for strengthening it. Practical life, work, prove again and again that in the activity of the trade unions strengthening the power appears in helping their several millions of members to know and understand the policy of building a socialist society, encouraging and organizing action on behalf thereof.

In the basic questions of socialist building work the task of the trade unions is to strengthen the power and fully support it. But in the details of making and carrying out decisions they have freedom of action and opinion. This means that they participate in developing decisions serving the development of society on the basis of their own experiences and opinions, they initiate and prepare decisions and they have independent opinions, proposals and working methods in the execution of measures--in how and by what means they must be carried out locally. Great attention must be turned to this, especially in primary organization work. In the local execution of tasks an independent opinion is an especially powerful propaganda and agitation opportunity--if it is based on constant and systematic consultation with the workers to know about everything and have a way to express an opinion in questions affecting them. So that they can influence the development of their own fate. It is hard to overestimate the agitational force of this.

So it is important that a style of work should develop in the trade union movement, especially at the place of work, the realization of which is at the same time the most effective, large scale verbal agitation and propaganda work. Attention must be concentrated on this now in the activity of the trade unions; in this way we can increase our influence and affect the course of events.

What Happens Before Decisions Are Made?

Agitation and propaganda work must be appropriate, must have an effect in decision making and must become something which the workers can feel in the life of the trade union primary organizations especially in two areas--in everyday life and in the functioning of the most important forums of the factory.

It is extraordinarily important that there be a prior discussion with the members of the trade union steward's group as to what questions they want to make a decision in, take a stand on or give an opinion about. This must be discussed not merely because without this they will not know what is to be done. In the majority of cases they know because frequently--unfortunately--what is involved is the solution of well known problems. There must be a prior consultation with the members of the group because, on the one hand, the opinions and recommendations of the majority enrich knowledge, provide new proposals and bring to the surface other solutions but, on the other hand, there must be consultation because only in this way does a feeling develop and strengthen among the workers that everything is being discussed with them, that they are asked about everything before a decision is made. This feeling (especially the practical benefits of it) is closely interdependent with the realization of our socialist principles, with having a say in the formation of our own fate.

But more is involved. In our society the greatest strength is the agreement of the workers with our goals and methods. This provides a political background, a tranquil, understanding background ready to help, whether individual or group affairs are involved. If the stewards work everywhere with such methods then the millions living from salary and wages will feel the sense of our policy better in the course of everyday and in questions of detail. When the workers argue and debate in their groups under the leadership of the trade union steward about wage or social questions or about work organization and the allocation of work and evaluate things on the basis of work done this forms the strength and morale of the community.

The best propaganda and agitation is a sequence of events of everyday life which stands as close as possible to socialist principles and socialist human values. We know no more convincing agitation and propaganda than this today.

Realizing such a style of work makes it possible for the activity of the trade union steward to be truly the foundation of trade union work, makes it possible for us to carry out activity at the place of work of such quality that millions of workers constantly feel the presence of the trade union, feel that the trade union is really indispensable to them. Such a style of work makes it possible also for the trade union steward to forward to the appropriate forums the information and experiences acquired in the course of his many-sided work. The trade union committee collects this information from every steward and that which can be taken care of within the factory or requires action is included in the work plan, presented at the meeting of the steward's body or presented to the economic leaders.

Making use of the experiences of the stewards also represents a great agitation and propaganda strength, because it proves to the workers that the trade union steward is handing on the opinion and experiences of the membership and that the trade union committees are giving answers and taking action.

Of similar effect and significance are the meetings of the stewards' bodies, where they discuss, debate and decide problems and tasks of "enterprise scale." A meeting of the stewards' body is worth while only if a steward can attend in order to become acquainted in a many-sided way with the opinion, proposals and problems of the workers belonging thereto. If the steward does his work in the way noted above then he is capable of speaking to measures of enterprise scale. Then the stewards' body can weigh matters responsibly and know what sort of position to take.

It is not of secondary importance whether interdependencies are made known at the meeting of the steward's body, whether the economic leaders and the trade union give their opinion about what is to be done, about various possible solutions. The members of the stewards' body must be given the means to weigh and select, to see the possibilities together with the tasks, and, comparing this with the experiences of their own places of work and groups, to take a stand. Political activity must take place at the meeting of the stewards' body too. The leader of the enterprise, and the leader of the trade union committee too, must argue, debate and convince. A feeling of responsibility is better realized in this way, and this radiates through the work of the stewards into the life of the place of work groups.

The great bulk of the tasks and problems at the place of work are things to which a simple yes or no answer cannot be given. If this is so then the more complicated the problem the more necessary it is to make debate possible and the more the number of solution possibilities to be considered. The socialist society must be built in awareness also. Going beyond theoretical knowledge one must be convinced by the facts of everyday life that this transformation of awareness rests on very solid foundations.

For this reason propaganda and agitation cannot be separated from the activity of the trade unions, from the carrying out of tasks. If they are separated then errors are common and one can frequently say: How can one agitate badly for a good policy, for a correct measure? Agitation and propaganda have an internal logic; one must understand what is involved. If the style of work at the place of work followed this logic everywhere then there would be a strengthening of the force and skill of the political work done among the masses by the trade union movement. Thus agitation and propaganda are nothing more than an explanation of tasks, a mobilization for their realization and a collective search for and propagation of the way, the how and the content of this realization.

The democratic forums and everyday life are the two greatest fields for agitation and propaganda. At these two points our activity cannot be gray and boring, superficial chatter, but rather it must be worthy, arousing trust, resulting in conviction. Behind this are ranged a feeling for the profundity and sincerity of our policy and principles, the place of work achievements of socialist democracy, the participation of the masses, and possibilities for supervision by them.

Agitation and propaganda work must be done not only by individual officials and activists but rather by the entire movement. Everyone active in some special area,

in addition to what is to be done in his own area, must work with logical, clear, many-sided arguments. It should never be forgotten that routine repetition of basic truths does not and cannot give an appropriate answer to or orientation in each question that arises. The workers at their place of work must feel that their opinions are needed, that they can take action there, can 'fight," for their individual interests, for the interests of their group and enterprise, that they are being encouraged to do so. If they want to take an initiative they should be encouraged and helped to do better work.

Unfortunately in many primary organizations and places of work today such a democratic style of work finds rejection on the part of the trade union and economic leaders. This happens most frequently where the economic leaders or trade union officials, lacking theoretical and practical training, are incapable of working with such methods. In general they do not encourage debate, do not tolerate it or feel it is superfluous, because they hold their own opinion to be infallible. They do not realize that socialist democracy has great significance in the progress of socialist building work, meaning the degree to which the individual can have a say in decisions affecting his life, at work and outside of work.

The Economic Situation is an Important Starting Point for Trade Union Activity

When we talk about the tasks of the trade unions the economic situation, aiding or carrying out economic tasks are always central questions. The economic situation is the starting point for possibilities in the area of social policy and culture and the foundation for our entire socialist development. This is a truth which more and more understand today and they adjust their work and demands to it. The activity of the trade unions also always starts from work which helps the economy. There are many methods for this active aid. The question here is whether the workers know and unders and the tasks, whether they are willing to act and what sort of behavior do they exhibit in the course of execution. The question is what can the skilled worker, engineer or director do in their own area, do they do what they can, do they really give the maximum of their capabilities. To expect appropriate behavior and work, to encourage, aid and cause the unfolding of such work, this is the chief content of that activity of the trade unions which aids the economy. In the course of this work the following must be taken into consideration:

1. Problems appearing in work organization, material supply and material incentive, in the realization of levelling, in the increasing grayness of moral recognition, in inadequate respect for physical work and for those who work well and in forcing similar values into the background; agitation and propaganda could help much in bringing about a change in this.

2. The trade union could help especially much in places of work and in small communities in seeing whom the workers themselves regard as an example, what acts they regard as a guide, seeing to it that on the job it is always possible to sense, not in slogans but in acts, that the socialist society is a society of work. If these questions develop in a correct direction then there will be respect, and increasing respect, for good work, honest work, understanding and a feeling of responsibility. Those who work in this way should be respected, paid and regarded as examples; they should be talked about at conferences, in the press, etc. We do

not desire a return to the piling up of statistics or the forests of placards of the 1950's, but that grayness and inferior propaganda which are unfortunately common in this area are not satisfactory and do not serve as an incentive. Agitation and propaganda activity must always meet the interest and feeling for justice of the working masses, and this is possible only if we base in on work, on work done.

3. The time spent at work is less and less in the lives of people. The time spent in study grows longer, the work week has become shorter, there is no child labor, the retirement age has been reduced and barely half of the year now consists of work days. For all these reasons it has become more important to "go out into the lives of the workers." It has become more important because beginning the working life later has brought with it social, family, housing and other problems the solution of which is justly urged by young people, with increasing impatience. The significance of choosing a career has become of no less importance. It has become important for one's entire life because perhaps the most important starting point for one's relationship to work is what sort of work one chooses in accordance with his abilities and goals. Trade union agitation and propaganda have a task in this area also, primarily to give advice, to help, to point out the beauty of the career chosen. In itself, naturally, this is not enough. Knowing the beauty of a trade is worth little if the atmosphere at the place of work, the organization of work and the behavior of colleagues and leaders distorts all this beauty. The beauty of work, of a trade, appears not "in itself" but rather amidst concrete circumstances. Every job can be loved in a good environment; the meaning of creativity and work can be found in every job.

4. Improving the economic situation of the country requires today more responsibility and understanding from the workers. And in this distribution, atmosphere and love of the job are a significant mobilizing force. In agitation and propaganda work we cannot ignore the fact that work stands high in the theoretical hierachy of socialist values, but in recent years this rank has decreased. There are those who say that since there are ample job opportunities for everyone this over-insurance has relaxed work morality and reduced efficiency. Since we have problems in realizing distribution according to work the link between work, prosperity and promotion has loosened somewhat in social awareness. This results in apathy in some. Agitation and propaganda either have not dealt adequately with these questions or they have been satisfied with phrases and slogans which have no effect on awareness.

5. Unfortunately the workers frequently experience in daily practice the opposite of what we say about our goals and means at trade union meetings, production conferences and elsewhere. Naturally all this has an effect in one's relationship to work too. This is all the more a fault because the relationship to work is a very important measure of value. Many say that there is nothing which can lift a man so high or bring him so low, and thus destroy his life, as a correct or bad relationship to work. But if this is so--and practice proves that it is--then agitation and propaganda also must reckon with it. How can the workers, the working people, realize in life that which we used to sing about in the labor movement, "Work was once coercion, now it is a heroic deed"? It has always been easy for agitation to explain that work was once coercion but that it is now a heroic deed--unfortunately, it has often been difficult for us for at that because in places practice contradicts it. Attila Jozsef wrote in one of his poems:

"Give me the joy of work, because wages are not enough for this." And how right the poet was. If one is to feel joy in work there is need for a good place of work atmosphere, beyond the correct policy of the country. One must constantly feel the "great politics" locally, in little things as well. There must be respect for work and the man who works well, there must be appropriate incentive and much besides, as a result of which a man will feel good about himself, and have joy in work.

The Man Forming Strength of Socialist Labor Competition

Agitation and propaganda work can have a great role in seeing that the struggle for the better, the more efficient, for work done with honor is constant in the socialist labor competition and in every area of life generally. This should be visible and tangible in the results of the given place of wrrk. Empty phrases, goals and explanations which cannot be understood and which do not attract or move anyone cannot be permitted anywhere, but especially not in the labor competition, in the struggle for better work.

With the aid of agitation and propaganda it must be possible to personalize achievements and deficiencies in work. We expect from everyone individually more and better, more disciplined and more understanding work, in the labor competition and everywhere in the execution of tasks. We expect more from everyone to the extent their abilities permit. But we should help in the constant development of abilities so that in time everyone can do more for himself and for society than he did yesterday. There can be no doubt that there are real foundations for this at the places of work and within the small communities. People should know one another so that it can be said on the basis of a realistic order of values what can be expected from whom, what can be demanded from whom, how a person can be evaluated and why. The achievements and deficiencies must be personalized precisely in the small work communities, at the place of work, and it must be said immediately what we expect from whom individually, with appropriate incentive, criticism and help, and then the result will not be in doubt. But neither can there be any doubt that in such a community there can develop an atmosphere in which everyone tries to meet his obligations, and even exceed them. On such a foundation there can develop within the communities at the places of work an atmosphere in which work done well is recognized and respected.

Agitation and propaganda work must get close to individual people and help them to understand what they can do and what is expected of them. But this work is not done by a special person; it is not the task of special activists assigned for this purpose. It is done by the steward's group with every member of it. Standards and tasks are set jointly for every member of the community and execution is aided and evaluated together. There is no more effective agitation and propaganda work than this, because it is based on reality, on a real order of values.

Even the slightest progress in the work of individual people must be respected. That which can be put before the community as an example or a demand must be noticed and recognized. We should help people to understand, adopt and value all that which advances those human values which we respect in our society, help them to be implemented and propagated. In the labor competition and in the struggle for better work, whatever forms we select, the work of the individual is the basis

of the competition, of the evaluation. The contribution of the individual to the realization of common tasks should be more and more valuable today than it was yesterday. In this case the competition will not be bureaucratic; only in this case will form not take precesence over content.

Using Local Arguments

Many say that it is not possible to agitate without measures being taken and frequently agitation is forced into impotence because they are waiting for measures. There can be no doubt that help is needed in this situation and there has been some improvement already. Still, the primary organizations must see that whatever measure is involved--social, wages, recreation or of a general character--it is not necessary in every case to wait for central measures. The local peculiarities, aspects and arguments of the given question can be made use of and the collection of them must begin immediately. In the greater part of cases the central directives hardly contain arguments which can be used locally. The national arguments, the average percentages, which indicate development or what is to be done are often inappropriate for the concrete persuasion of the individual. Workers always relate to their own situation and work, try to "place" events themselves and so, in order to persuade them, only very concrete local arguments can be used effectively in agitation. Only the primary organization and officials are able to collect and use these.

In connection with this question we must call attention to a very serious difficulty of our agitation and propaganda activity, namely that our agitation and our propagands activity is not of better quality today becsuse, among other things, it presumes that a profound, substantive and consistent style of work backs it up. This is a style of work which, up to now, we have only tried to talk about. We are not yet used to agitations and explaining independently and colorfully on the basis of local arguments and interests. We are not used to pointing out interdependencies and presenting variations. This can be felt especially in work aiding the economy. It is not enough to help management "drily", with the same arguments gathered together by the economic leaders from the technical, economic and other viewpoints. We must help people to "feel" and "see" these tasks from another side. This is the soul of mass work and agitation. It is difficult or impossible to influence people "drily," to encourage them to follow an example. Dry, soulless explanations and agitation only "get the job off your hands." Only grayness and formalism can come from this; an internal need is not born in the workers.

There are relatively few officials in the trade union movement who are good speakers. There are few who know how to speak so that they can present the essence to the workers briefly, in a way they can understand. The trade union committees must seek out those activists with whom it is worth dealing from this viewpoint. A number of people's tribunes were educated in the trade union movement before the liberation. Today their number is very small and this is not good; in the years ahead this situation must and will be changed because to the extent that the activity of the trade unions among the masses becomes more lively and colorful there must be an increasing number of more active officials who know how to do this work, having the vocabulary, capable of arguing and speaking.

But this also requires that there be greater scope in the work of trade union officials for struggle, for political action for the realization of our goals.

This struggle presumes independence, an ability to think and debate, to argue, the ability to persuade. Such work can offer profound, influential activity; such work can bring to the trade unions that "tranquil political background" which is offered by the understanding of the membership, their many-sided awareness of trade union work and their participation in it. It is easier to hide behind the concepts of "social interest" and the "difficult economic situation", constantly repeating them, than to struggle with the broader and more numerous economic and movement possibilities deriving from the independence of the enterprises.

With the independence of the enterprises the trade unions got into their hands an opportunity with the aid of which a good bit more can be done for effective economic work at the place of work, making it easier to explain the tasks and the material interdepenencies in the execution of tasks and offering a greater opportunity to mobilize the entire collective to uncover local reserves.

The tasks and methods of the trade union in the interest of the same goal are different from those of the economic leaders. This "different" task and method, the different opinion and point of view, involve the possibility of debate. This offers a means for thinking and acting with the membership in the interest of carrying out enterprise tasks. Socialist society has created for the first time on a mass scale the possibility for real political participation. This is a great thing, but its realization is a long process. Conviction is an inexhaustible source of energy, and it can be created only with participation, mass work and quality agitation and propaganda.

With the increasing independence of the enterprises agitation and propaganda have new opportunities. There are more local arguments, increasingly tangible to the workers, regarding the interdependence of results and distribution, the fate of the individual and work well done by the community. Now these arguments are not realized indirectly. They show directly the tasks and interdependencies of real life, that there is a direct relationship between production and distribution. So in agitation and propaganda work the arguments--what one should talk about, how one should persuade--are in the hands of the trade union stewards, in the tasks of the enterprise, institution or place of work, and in the tasks of the small collectives and individuals. Advantage must be taken of these arguments, to argue and work. There is no aid coming from above which is more effective than this because they cannot give better aid from above. Life itself, the life and tasks of the small and large community, provide, indeed deluge one with arguments. Adpating to the people involved in the work one must find therein the arguments which speak to persons. Not isolated from work or outside of it, but in the midst of everyday work.

The workers justly expect from the trade unions more sprightliness, more ideas, a more colorful life. More initiatives must be taken from them at the place of work, not only in connection with work but in connection with every motif of the life of the workers.

To See and Make One See

The trade union is a mass organization, a movement. It has always had the important task of aiding, representing and defending the policy of the worker class, aiding

it, understanding it and transforming it into deeds. So is it now also. But now this requires more understanding, more and more responsille work. It must help to realize the good policy; and the tools and strength for this are there. We have the rights needed for this and we have the respect. But more effective exploitation of the possibilities is lacking.

In our homeland the responsibility of the trade union movement consists of seeing and understanding and making other see and understand, that the current economic goals are correct and necessary, supporting their realization with all strength, while standing guard over the achievements affecting the living and working conditions of the workers, especially at the places of work. This requires positive public thinking on a social scale, at the place of work and nationally. This does not come into being automatically because it arises and appears in the daily life and work of individual people, in the support of socialist values. It is the obligation of agitation and propaganda to help create such an atmosphere, help "to see and make one see" the present and the future. The trade union should help people to act against neglect, carelessness, irresponsibility and lack of understanding, help to develop public thinking on a social scale which rejects these things. This is a realistic requirement, because our every act will meet with the social feeling of justice of the workers.

Such public thinking appears in the daily life and daily work of people, in the support of socialist human values. So that "great politics" should be felt in every motif at the placesoof work also. Taking this into consideration the trade unions must deal with every task deriving from their mission. Agitation work and the mass work of the trade unions must make these things felt, this is the soul of their actiiity. If this activity is simply "worked off" anywhere it will lead to grayness and formalism and create apathy.

The question is, Can we carry out such activity and create such an atmosphere? There is no doubt that we can. But it must be understood that the "struggle" for man has sharpened under present conditions. We must win them, influence them, encourage them and strengthen their faith and trust in our policy in practice. We must have an effect on individuals, amidst the differences, values and qualities of men. This forcesthe entire trade union movement to come closer to individual people. The stewards especially must be able to get closer to incividual people. They must be made to feel--virtually every day--that what we want is what the workers want.

One of the chief weaknesses of trade union work today is that it does not support itself adequately--but only in a campaign fashion--on the hundreds of thousands of activists, and the activity of the membership too is rather sporadic. This must be changed by increasing the movement character and influencing power of trade unions activity. In trade union work today we are making great efforts to face the fact that some of the workers are not yet entirely communal men, especially not men of the socialist type. The liberation in 1945 did not mean automatic liberation from traditions and habits. This means an ideological struggle in the activity of the trade union, many-sided daily activity and mass work for the realization of socialist principles and socialist values. The trade unions could do especially much to strengthen the socialist power if they did this in a quality way.

One must also take into consideration in agitation and propaganda work that a new offensive phase of imperialism is commencing. From this viewpoint agitation and propaganda work cannot be done as if nothing had changed. We can do much for peace, for the struggle against war, if our ideology and the domestic practice are realized more consistently. But it is not only we who explain our policy and deeds. So agitation and propaganda are forced to battle virtually every day, and in this battle the authenticity of our practice is one of our chief strengths.

8984
CSO: 2500/114

RESULTS OF CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISES EVALUATED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 12, Dec 81 pp 4-5

/Article by Colonel Ivan Pataky: "Experiences With Plant Exercises"/

/Text/ One of the central tasks of training in the coming years will be complex civil defense exercises in our plants. This exercise form, new in substance and methods, received nationwide recognition after the 1979-1980 procedural demonstrations, among others, for example, the GANZ-MAVAG Motor exercises under the cover name "Turbina" and the HODIKOT exercises. Some of my readers may be surprised at my statement and in the 3-year-old past of civil defense they will point to dozens of places where plant exercises have been conducted. These doubters are right, but still mistaken. It is a fact that our plant civil defense organs conducted exercises already in 1951. At the same time, it is a fact that the entire civil defense organization of the plants and the workers who were not given assignments in the organizations--and in fact, their family members--embracing the total anticipated war-time task of the plant and working it out with a complex method, was evident for the first time in the exercises conducted at GANZ-MAVAG.

Since this procedural demonstration, nearly 2 years have passed. In the second half of last year, several procedural or training type exercises were held. Complex civil defense exercises were carried out this year in 1981 in the country as a whole on the basis of a long-term plan with the guidance of all the ministries, the capital city, megye, capital-city district and megye and city councils, and the district (jaras) offices in a whole series of enterprises, state farms and agricultural cooperatives under their supervision and management.

We were able to observe and supervise a significant part of these exercises. The processing and analysis of these experiences is now underway. Without trying to be complete, I believe I can outline and generalize about a number of positive and negative experiences. These will afford help, to a certain extent, in organizing and planning future exercises.

Issues of our newspaper which have appeared in the past 2 years have discussed as a recurring problem the misunderstanding or lack of understanding of the world "complex" in every article dealing with this subject. At that time the most difficult problem was the inertia deriving from custom and routine. The overcoming and understanding of the limits was a problem in that--although the locale was still the plant--we were discussing an exercise that was qualitatively new in form and substance. The year 1981 showed that as a result of powerful and tenacious refresher training and enlightenment work the civil defense commanders and subcommanders in our plants and cooperatives not only understood but accepted the complexity essence of the plant exercises. They recognized its importance in the system of civil defense training and it usefulness in executing the war-time preparatory tasks of the cooperative.

The exercises that were organized and executed in the autumn of this year also met, without exception, the complexity requirement. I regard this as an extremely important development because we were able to concentrate our resources not on convincing the leaders but on improving the quality of the exercises.

And on the other hand, all the organs of civil defense were able to devote their liberated time and energies to the preparation, organization and executive of the exercises.

A significant degree of development is evident in the planning, organizational and guidance work of the plant civil defense commanders. As a result of the systematically executed training tasks, staff drills, staff leadership exercises, the plant units worked in a much more organized way than formerly. They rapidly selected, evaluated and fixed on operational maps or in other documents the incoming information, which they received in the form of prior directions, evaluation communications or reports. After analyzing and evaluating the information, most of them judged correctly the situation, as it developed, and made well-founded recommendations to the plant civil defense commanders. The decisions and orders of the commanders were for the most part concise, correct, and to the point. Obviously, their work was facilitated by the fact that as economic managers they had significant leadership experience and practice. They could decisively and rapidly select the most essential tasks which had developed in the exercises, and they attended primarily to these. This very important experience in complex plant exercises verified and affirmed the correctness of another basic principle of our preparatory system: in building on knowledge and experiences acquired in civilian life we should train leaders and subordinates alike only for those tasks which are specifically civil defense in nature. Accordingly, we needed to instruct a commander--a plant, state or economic manager a tsz /producer cooperative/ chairman--not in how to lead as this is what he does everyday, but how to execute tasks under the special circumstances of war in a catastrophic situation. I believe, and it is shown by this year's exercises, that in the course of the preparatory work and exercises of future years we will be able to build more purposefully and decisively on the civilian training and experiences of our special services and self-defense organization personnel.

The cooperation, organizational and guidance ability of our commanders and staffs has increased significantly. While formerly a large part of the plant command was satisfied with working out a task or time graph, which it applied on the basis of the time plans that were prepared, the large majority of specialists in the rescue work coordinated their activities in detail on the site and locale. They followed the work attentively and concerned themselves with the continuity of the cooperation.

As a result of this activity, the work of the subunits became smoother and more continuous, and the individual work phases were organically linked to one another, and the various specialized units worked as they observed and helped one another.

The results, as sketched above, are clear proof of development. But we cannot ignore the fact that there are still considerable errors in planning, organization and execution. Among other things, we should mention that excessive planning still exists, or "working by the kilo." For example, at one state farm in the area between the Danube and the Tisza, where otherwise exercises have been well carried out, they gave a word-for-word description in the plan for the activities, measures and instructions of leaders at every level. We have often written about the damaging effect of such an approach on the creativeness of the commanders, and thus without

being repetitive we shall merely state that fotunately the leaders built on their own preparedness and not on the plans. This is how practice became truly alive. To return to our beginning thought, there are still a rather considerable number of errors that can be ascribed in part to adherence to old custom, in part to superficiality, and in part to a poor evaluation of the situation and to training weaknesses. Their elimination, "liquidation" would increase by a great deal the quality of future exercises. That is why I have gathered a "bouquet" of such errors so that it will be possible to learn from them.

The first stems in the "bouquet" consist of bad planning errors. Without placing them in the order of their importance, here are several examples:

In some places they measured the real dimensions of the exercise erroneously and did not bring it in harmony with the possiblities of the civil defense sub-units to be used. For example, they allotted a relatively small extent of damage area in one of our beer factories. The applied forces "ate up" in reality the damage area. Extinguishing the fires required 12 minutes, finding the wounded, rescuing them and carrying out the rescue work required 35 minutes, and thus the entire operation lasted 47 minutes. If we add to this the relief work and services for the wounded, it lasted one hour and a half. Although it was a spectacular and well-conducted exercise, the weakness is obvious: the performed work did not compel the rescue forces to serious efforts. Unfortunately, we also encountered elsewhere exercises which require relatively little effort. Above all, this has a bad moral effect. Since both in exercises, in preparatory work, and in evaluation it is constantly heard that the situation presented is close as possible to reality, the idea may develop among civil defense personnel that they can work relatively easily, with little effort, and successfully in a catastrophic situation. But when they face the real thing, the task may prove unsolvable, and they will collapse.

I frankly admit that neither I nor any of my colleagues saw this year an exercise where they had to work at least 8 hours without rest and with full effort to the end of the rescue work. It would be worthwhile to compare the actual time for the exercises with the rescue norms prescribed in the technical norm manuals, for example, the time requirement for trenches, rescue tunnels, breaking through a wall, and so forth. If the planners make actual calculations, they will find that they have eased the requirements everywhere. The motives for this turn of mind can be sought for in the desire to spare the workers, for the exercises are held on Saturdays, and therefore why should they be "made to suffer." Let us compare the truth of this thinking with a war-time or flood situation, and let us decide between the two: which is the realistic requirement, where they ease the requirements and this becomes the habitual way, or where they require maximum effort?

The misunderstanding of the concept of "economically useful" tasks signifies planning, organization or execution errors. In a number of plants they have interpreted this requirement to mean that under the pretext of a complex civil defense exercise they would carry out a large housecleaning operation in the plant.

"Yesterday they held a complex civil defense exercise at the plant..." writes the ZALAI HIRLAP on 17 October 1981. "In the framework of the exercise the enterprise workers also performed economically useful work, they gathered together a large quantity of scrap iron and delivered it to MEH /Trash and Garbage Collection Trust/." Since I did not witness the exercise and only read the negative report in the megye newspaper, I immediately conceived of a number of questions! What does this have do to with civil defense tasks? Are we a civil defense or cleanup enterprise? Who received the money from MEH? And did they spend it on civil defense? And so on.

This is not a lone instance! In the case of such exercises, the civil defense commander of the enterprise forgets that he is a commander, not only an economic manager. And as a commander in the given case he is also legally responsible for the lives of the workers. Authority as a commander means first of all responsibility and with it right of authority! Commanders with an outlook like this--fortunately they are negligible in number--do not take seriously the defense policy or our party and government, the laws and decrees which represent it and are binding on him also.

We can also give many examples of the opposite kind. Exercises where economically useful work has been built in a planned way into civil defense tasks. Light restoration, demolition, strengthening, disinfecting of animals, and so forth--I could add to the list--are all examples where the civil defense task is the same as the economic task, where it is possible to work profitably without causing harm to the civil defense work. Of course, if I write of demolition, I am thinking of the technical rescue subunits and not of the sanitary affairs people.

In summary, it is a correct and useful effort to link the exercises with economically useful work, but this cannot for a moment be done at the expense of civil defense tasks.

Under all circumstances, civil defense is the primary goal and not concern over whether the producer cooperative or the state farm, for example, has lagged behind in corn snapping or in sugar beet harvesting, and therefore on some Saturday or Sunday the workers are ordered out to do this work on the pretext of civil defense.

I wanted to draw attention to these several matters. They do not spoil the overall successful nature of the exercises, but they do have a disturbing effect We must therefore keep a watch on them. Most are of the kind that with a little bit of upper level--ministerial, capital city, megye, district (jaras)--attention they can be eliminated in the planning period. This is what I wanted to achieve with this article. A greater attentiveness.

6691
CSO: 2500/127

ALLOWANCE PAYMENTS TO MILITARY PERSONNEL DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian No 77, 12 Dec 81 pp 1237-1238

/Joint Decree No 4/1981 of 12 December of the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Finance on Certain Allowance Payments to Military Personnel and Their Dependents/

/Text/ On the basis of authorization granted in Article 151 paragraph (1) of the Council of Ministers Decree No 6, 1976 of 31 March (hereinafter R) for the execution of Law No 1 of 1976 on military defense, we decree as follows in agreement with the interested ministries and the National Council of Trade Unions:

(re Article 86 of R)

Article 1

An individual small farmer, an artisan, a private tradesman, a work team, the member of an industrial, service or agricultural trade group, or some other who earns his livelihood from incidental work wages should receive 100 forints daily--calculated by work days--for participating in civil defense exercises, or if the exercise lasts under 8 hours he should be paid an amount proportional to the time put in.

(re Article 94 of R)

Article 2

(1) The basic sum for establishing the basis of family assistance on behalf of a dependent living together with an enlisted man is 1,560 forints monthly. For each additional person the sum is increased by 70 percent over the sum established for the first person.

(2) The sum for establishing the basis of family assistance on behalf of a dependent living separately from an enlisted many is 1,250 forints monthly, and for each additional person the sum is increased by 60 percent over the sum established for the first person.

(re Article 96 of R)

Article 3

Total family assistance amounts to the earnings of those requiring maintenance, or the income from any source whatsoever, and the difference between the defined sum in Article 2 paragraph (1) or (2), with regard to Article 8.

(re Article 100 of R)

Article 4

(1) For the reserve conscript mentioned in paragraphs (3) and (4) of Article 100 in R, a daily income supplement of 100 forints per day, calculated in working days, must be paid as assistance for a period of military service not exceeding 10 days.

(2) In the case of reserve military service exceeding 10 days the combined sum of the pay granted by the armed forces (the organ where the service is performed) and of the payment in kind must be supplemented to 3,000 forints monthly by income supplement assistance.

(re Articles 109-110 in R)

Article 5

(1) Sick benefit assistance defined in paragraph (1) is also extended to the conscript who is not in the work relation (cooperative membership relation) mentioned in Article 110 in R.

(re Article 121 in R)

Article 6

For the widow, parent, or parentless child of one who dies a hero, no pension can be established which amounts individually to less than 2,050 forints monthly, or to a parentless child to less than 1,450 forints monthly.

(re Article 126 in R)

Article 7

(1) The smallest accident provision and pension provision--with the exception of the accident allowance--cannot be less than the smallest sum for accident disability pension in a Group I disability.*

(2) The accident allowance must be established on a basis of at least 2,100 forints monthly.

Article 8

(1) In the first instance on 1 January 1983 and thereafter on 1 January of every year, the basic sum for family assistance (Article 2), the basic sum for income supplement (article 4 paragraph (2), the accident pension provision for the widow, parent and parentless child of one who dies a hero (Article 7, paragraph (1)), and the basic sum for accident allowance (Article 7, paragraph (2)) will increase according to rules for the regular annual rise in pension and other provisions.

(2) The sums that are raised according to paragraph (1) above are paid by the SZOT /National Council of Trade Unions/ Social Security Inspectorate Pension Administration, without further determination, on the date due.

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*Beginning on 1 January 1982, a total monthly sum of 1,900 forints.

Article 9

This decree is valid on 1 January 1982. Its orders must be applied for stated provisions before the decree comes into effect. Simultaneously, Joint Decree No 1/1976 of 31 March by the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Finance loses its validity. Wherever a statutory provision refers to Joint Decree No 1/1976 of 31 March by the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Finance, the corresponding provision of the present decree must be understood.

Lajos Czinege
Minister of Defense

Dr Emil Schultheisz
Minister of Health

Dr Istvan Hetenyi
Minister of Finance

6691
CSO: 2500/110

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI COMMENTARY ON GROMYKO VISIT NOTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Stefan Zielicz: "A Natural and Unfailing Ally"]

[Text] 'It was a working visit in a candid, unreserved and friendly atmosphere in the course of which we discussed all problems of interest to our two countries, including the problems of our continued relations of friendship and cooperation.'

This was a nutshell description of a trip to Moscow by Polish People's Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek , Politburo member and PZPR central committee secretary. His trip certainly did not take would public opinion by surprise because mutual Polish-Soviet contacts on various levels see one manifestation of those relations of close and comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance, linking our two states and nations for nearly forty years and dating back to WW II and our joint armed struggle against our mutual Nazi enemy. As decades pass, international situation changes together with the conditions under which we are bound to live and forge a common future, yet the merit of our alliance with the Soviet nations is reconfirmed under any conditions and in all political patterns.

The tradition of friendship and many-sided close cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union is referred to in a joint communique on Minister Czyrek's visit and his talks in Moscow with Politburo Central Committee member and KPZR Central Committee secretary Mikhail Suslov and Central Committee Politburo member Andrey Gromyko, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"The parties expressed their unfailing belief, the communique says, that these relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism will be further strengthened and developed under the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union through active participation of both countries in the multilateral defensive-political alliance of socialist countries--Warsaw Pact--and in the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation."

These statments on several decades of cooperation of our two countries receive especial significance from Minister Czyrek's visit having taken place in a particular political setting. Forces inimical to the entire socialist community, quite intensely engaged in attempts to oppose Poland to the Soviet Union after the

the imposition of martial law in Polish People's Rppublic, have launched against both countries a propaganda campaign accompanied by pressure measures identifiable as interference in external matters of the Polish People's Republic. In this setting, the proverbial hour of truth had come for our international relations. On the one hand, masks have dropped from the faces of those who until recently have declared their disinterested propensity for our country and now are trying to penalize it with economic sanctions for the developments in Poland's internal matters taking a course contrary to the plans and desires of reactionary imperialist forces.

On the other hand, this situation lets us even more readily to appreciate the invaluable advantage of collaboration with the Soviet ally who, as usual, did not fail. Accordingly, the Foreign Affairs Minister of the Polish People's Republic thanked both the leadership of the Soviet state and all working people of the Soviet Union for "extending brotherly support and assistance and supplying goods and raw materials of exceptional importance for the Polish national economy in a difficult period for the Polish People's Republic." On his part, Minister Gromyko assured that socialist Poland can, as until now, be certain of her Soviet ally's support for her efforts designed to overcome the difficulties with which our country is coping. The joint communique gave expression to the belief that "the Polish People's Republic, an important segment in the socialist community occupying a highly important place in the European system of equilibrium and peace, will successfully deal with these difficulties, aided by her allies and friends.

During his visit Minister Czyrek discussed with his Soviet hosts key problems in Europe's political situation. It is easy to identify complete convergence of national and state interests of the two allied countries and their governments' common stand based on that convergence.

This convergence stems from the geopolitical situation of the Polish nation for whom the Eastern neighbor is a natural mainstay and ally and from systemic common political system of our two socialist countries, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Our alliance, collaboration and friendship fully agree with vital interests of both states and nations. This alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are a fundamental precondition for ensuring security for the Polish People's Republic, for our country's prevailing in the crisis, and for continued prosperous development.

This conclusion is drawn from both the severe trials history did not spare us in the years of World War II and from affirmative experience of the most recent decades of fruitful cooperation with the Soviet neighbor and ally, one who is simply natural and, precisely because of that, unfailing.

8795
CSO: 2600/291

MILITARY STAFF CHIEF DEFENDS IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 23 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Col (master degree) Mieczyslaw Cieslik, chief of the Voivodship Military Headquarters, by Henryk Zawira: "In Accordance with the Spirit and Letter of the Law"; date and place not given]

[Question] For several days now we have been living under martial law. But here and there one hears the question: Was the declaration of martial law necessary?

[Answer] If we recall the situation in our country just prior to 13 December, then it is easy to see that the government was almost completely paralyzed. This came about because of the extensively conducted activity administered directly in state organs, the lack of respect for elementary principles of binding laws and finally the policies carried out by antisocialistic forces hostile to the state.

One also should not forget such detrimental practices as the paralysis of all government initiatives to set the economy in order, incessant strikes that disorganized our economic life, destroyed coproduction links, devastated the market and improverished our economy. Solidarity, in taking under its protection various types of representatives of illegal groups and parties and guaranteeing their safety, introduced into its arsenal of activities many elements of terror, physical as well as mental, which represented a threat to the health, life and property of the citizen.

[Question] Were these latter activities put into practice?

[Answer] Of course they were. The so-called wheelbarrow method was notorious in Poland. Party activists were threatened; party organizations were terrorized, isolating them, and attempts were made to eliminate them in the workplaces; the families of state functionaries, including their children, were mentally persecuted. State buildings were occupied, making it impossible to conduct administrative activities; deputies and members of the Sejm were threatened. Preparations were under way to take over people' councils, television and radio stations. Finally assault squads were organized to take over the government by armed force.

[Question] Certainly that is quite a lot, but did this justify the declaration of martial law?

[Answer] Article 32, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] clearly states that "the Council of State can implement martial law in all or part of the PRL if so required for the defense or security of the State." Does not what we discussed earlier represent a threat to the security of the state?

Of course--as Gen Jaruzelski said--it was not a matter of days but of hours that separated us from a national catastrophe, from a fratricidal civil war. Is this not enough?

[Question] Of course it is. But martial law carries with it enormous difficulties for the entire society, for each one of us. Must we bear the burdens of martial law because of the antisocial activities of a group of agitators hiding behind Solidarity's sheid?

[Answer] There is no way that we can shield people who have committed no offense from those hardships of martial law. Unfortunately they must reconcile themselves to the fact that civil rights have been restricted, that the special actions of martial law are subject to strict enforcement. But today, of course, the vast majority of people are not threatened. Every day we have much proof that the people support our actions and they are with us.

The hardships of martial law concern above all those who z ojczyzny uczynili sobie folwark [translation unknown], those who, in advocating a no-work policy, attempted to make strikes and protests a way of life and finally all those driven by hate for socialism who would like to destroy the country with the hands of the workers and bring down the government.

These hardships also affect those who in taking advantage of the chaos, anarchy and lawlessness were willing to prey upon the people to amass a fortune. They also affect the entire social structure.

Our goals are superior goals: the return of law and order, the just division of manufactured goods, respect for law, stabilization and worker self-government. In other words, we wish to return to a proper, normal functioning of the state, to a sense of security and justice.

[Question] But do the special laws that were introduced and their related practice have the imprint of legality?

[Answer] Not only do they have the imprint of legality, they are legal. Article 32 of PRL's Constitution empowers the Council of State to declare martial law, and all enforcements of this state of martial law are a consequence of it.

[Question] We have martial law, but there is not war. Some people do not understand this.

[Answer] The basic difference between a state of martial law and state of war is important.

A state of war as described in paragraph 1 of article 32 of the Constitution is declared only in two cases: if the state is attacked or if Poland goes to war because of international obligations from treaties of alliances and thus has external legal consequences.

A state of martial law, however, is declared when the security of the state is being directly threatened internally and the legal consequences are internal affairs.

[Question] Nonetheless they are constitutional regulations that lack detailed rules.

[Answer] This matter is regulated by two basic legal acts: the act of the Council of State of 12 December 1981 (GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AND LAWS GAZETTE, No 29, 14 Dec 1981) and Resolution No 9/81 of the Committee for the Defense of the Country of 12 December 1981 regarding militarization, that was issued on the basis of the regulations of the law of 21 November 1967 concerning the universal obligation to defend the PRL.

By no means should we forget other legal acts such as the decree of the Council of State expanding the authority of military courts over a number of the most serious offences and subjectively over people employed in militarized enterprises; the decree on the specific provision for martial law, implementing summary procedures in the legal proceeding of the public and military courts for offenses that pose the most serious social threat and for expanding the scope of simplified and accelerated proceedings and the discontinuance of criminal proceedings relative to certain categories of offences committed before 13 December 1981.

[Question] The people are unaware of all these legal acts, and perhaps that is why there is so much uncertainty.

[Answer] On the contrary, all existing regulations have been made public. Not only were the basic resolutions of these regulations publicized daily on TV and radio and in the press, but also they were fully discussed many times. It is not necessary here to name all the laws and rules.

[Question] Are not these rules the laws of a state of emergency?

[Answer] No, our legal system does not provide for a state of emergency. According to the formula of the bourgeois states, a state of emergency is the dissolution of representative organs from the parliament inclusive, the dissolution of the government, political parties and social organizations. It also means the dissolution of trade unions.

[Question] What happens in Poland?

[Answer] We have not dissolved even one of these institutions. We have only suspended for the duration of martial law the activities of some social organizations and trade unions--we have suspended and not dissolved them. If we had a state of emergency, then the legal consequences would be, among other things, the delegalization of trade unions, which would mean that membership in these unions would be a prosecutable offence severely punishable under the law.

[Question] Nevertheless a number of individuals were interned and some were arrested; are these not elements of a state of emergency?

[Answer] They are the consequences of martial law. The internment of some individuals from the executive and leadership ranks of Solidarity, who represented in

this union the interests of illegal political groups under the banner of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], KPN [Committee for an Independent Poland] and others, was necessary for the internal security of the country. These individuals relinquished their rights the moment proper conditions for this arose. But only those people were arrested whose activities are contrary to the regulations of martial law. People who commit these offences will be subject to severe regulation concerning penal liabilities in summary proceedings. Unfortunately all of us must understand that when the state is threatened internally there are no other solutions.

[Question] Will these martial law enforcements last long?

[Answer] It is difficult to answer that question. We all believe that it should be as short as possible. We should all see to that. The martial law decree clearly states the possibility of temporizing this state and even cenceling it. In accordance with the decree, the government, ministers of the ministries, governors and mayors have the right to repeal or temper many hardships resulting from martial law.

However, in order to do this, specific conditions must exist. There must be social peace, the threat to public law and order must disappear and, finally, normal work and living conditions must return.

[Question] Daily practice indicates that all these elements are beginning to return slowly.

[Answer] That is correct. More and more workers are showing signs of understanding the difficult situation. We see increasing numbers of examples of social support for our energetic disciplinary actions. Evidence of the peoples' cooperation is increasing. This is a great help in our justified efforts to assure law and order and security. It assures us in our belief that the goal to introduce all the achievements of democracy, to realize all the postulates of August resulting from the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzeb agreements will be achieved faster; we can never back away from these goals. They are the guarantee for breaking away from the old, bad habits of governing to which there is no return.

[Question] In the name of the readers of GLOS ROBOTNICZY, thank you for the discussion.

[Answer] Thank you very much.

11899
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ROLE, ATTITUDES OF RESERVISTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Lt Col Dr Bronislaw Getka: "Reserve Soldiers Fulfill Their Tasks in an Exemplary Fashion"]

[Text] After martial law was declared, it became clear to every citizen that an endeavor must be made to restore law and order and to guarantee the safety of our people as quickly as possible. In this area the armed forces, including soldiers called from the reserves to active duty, take on special tasks.

W. Przybyl, J. Kepski and H. Rosenberg are subunit reserve officers who evince deep concern over the fate of the country and their loved ones. Through the exemplary execution of their military obligations, they demonstrate their patriotism and responsible attitude toward the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation. In their discussions they accept the need to take radical measures against the enemies of socialism who under the pretext of workers' demands wanted to lead them into a confrontation against the authorities.

Reserve Sgt Gregorz Kozak believes that the severest punishment obligatory under martial law should be meted out to the troublemakers and instigators, and the judgments passed out by the military courts should be publicized on radio and TV and in the press. It would serve as a warning to those who are still waiting for the opportune moment, who have not gotten over their hatred for the party and the government and who still want at any cost to take advantage of the working peoples' sentiments in order to accomplish their own extremist goals and thus lead to bloodshed.

In the subunit where Reserve Sgt Zbigniew Karwacki, an on-duty noncommissioned officer, is performing his service despite very difficult housing conditions, exemplary order reigns. Hot coffee is always available. The soldiers eagerly gather about the officers for discussions. All replies are unequivocal, filled with concern about the fate of the country. They are proud that they can help the fatherland, which finds itself in an extreme situation. They have families, wives and children who stayed at home, but their sworn duty takes first place. This is how the reservists are.

Some of them are very familiar with the unit. Among them, some have served in it several times during military exercises. Now, however, they serve in a different role, under martial law. Most of these people--dressed in soldiers' uniforms--are peasants and workers. They came to the unit directly from the factories and surrounding farms to fulfill their civic and military duties for the fatherland.

They are simple people, sincere; they are devoid of hypocrisy. Thus the bitter words are understandable and so are the often asked question: How did the country get into this state of affairs? Who is inciting Polish workers against the government? During the discussions and at times during the heated disputes, the answer to the questions is becoming increasingly crystal clear. They conclude that Messrs. Jurczyk, Bujak, Michnik, Kuron and others, all of them giving comfort to the enemy, under the cover of Solidarity and through KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and KPN [Committee for an Independent Poland], appeared in the role as champions of the working class but in reality wanted to seize power in Poland by pushing the nation into the abyss of a fratricidal civil war. Convinced of this, the soldiers are realizing their program of service and training with greater commitment.

Propagandists play an important role. Withoug a moment's hesitation they explain the political problems that are perplexing the reservists, informing them of what is actually happening in Poland and abroad. They see to it that news reaches the subunits on time; they deliver the material to the propaganda truck, where the news in turn is broadcast on the air in its final form by Sgt Romuald Stasinski. Among the reserve soldiers doing an outstanding job as propagandists are Cpl M. Prazmo, Cpl Z. Cyran, Master Sgt P. Ostrowski and Sgt T. Przesniak. From the very moment the reserve units were organized, the party committees--POP [Primary Party Organization] and OOP [District Party Organization]--as well as the party youth groups in the platoons, have been functioning well. The secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Committee, Reserve 2nd Lt Ryszard Kuziola, knows and implements the statutory tasks. As a worker of the PZPR KM [City Committee], he has much experience in party work. Other reserve political officers--for example, Lt Henryk Kot, 2nd Lt Jerzy Tys, 2nd Lt Jan Wojcik, 2nd Lt Czeslaw Wilczopolski and line officers 2nd Lt J. Maciejewski, 2nd Lt R. Witkowski and 2nd Lt B. Ochnik--are working very actively. Thanks to their efforts, the job is proceeding in accordance with military rules and regulations.

Undoubtedly the meals have a positive effect on the soldiers' frame of mind. The delicious and calorific breakfests, lunches and dinners are praised by the consumers in uniform. The soldiers are pleased with the chief of the kitchen, Staff Sgt S. Kucharczyk, and the cooks, Master Sgt J. Dudek and Sgt A. Baczynski. Not only the food service is good. All quartermaster services are provided unconditionally to the satisfaction of the soldiers and cadres. Tents, day-rooms and field canteens are equipped with necessary furnishing and cultural-educational material as well as, with stoves to heat the rooms. Despite their difficult housing conditions and worries over family affairs, the mood of the reserve soldiers is good. They understand quite well that the declaration of martial law was necessary in order to foil the anarchy that reigned among us not too long ago.

Comrade A. Dudek, a political officer and long-time member of the party, ascertains, "I was fully convinced that the criminal plans regarding the nation will be thwarted. The Party's authority among the public will increase gradually. If our enemies believe that we--members of the PZPR--will remain on the sidelines, then they are sadly mistaken." Reserve Cpl M. Zareba says, "Onyszkiewicz, Bujak, Kuron and others who are using the trade unions as a shield admittedly planned to overthrow the socialist system in Poland. Throughout the centuries whole generation shed their blood, especially during the last war when the flow of blood was great, so that such a system of social justice would arise."

Party and nonparty reservists state that they will not permit foreign forces to assume rule over our country. As soldiers they are most interested in the return of democratic norms of life in the country and that peace, law and order should reign. They stand on guard so that no spark ignited by enemy motives or common stupidity will become a treacherous flame threatening our national reasons of state.

11899
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DISCUSSION OF LAW ON HIGHER SCHOOLS REOPENED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by R. Moszczenska: "Discussion of the Law on Higher Schools"]

[Text] The deputies have begun to work on the law on higher schools. At a meeting of the subcommission on the law, drafts were presented for changes and views of the deputies' teams, which in the first half of December 1981 had conducted an analysis of individual sections and clauses in the government's draft of the law.

It is necessary to remember that this is the draft worked out by the codification commission under the direction of Professor Zbigniew Resich.

In the work completed by the teams, observations stated earlier by all interested bureaus, institutions, trade unions and organizations (including students') were considered. From the reports generated by the deputies chairing the teams, it appears that attempts were made to reconcile differences of opinions; to oppose economizing suggestions put forward by the minister of finance, especially as regards regulations concerning employees' issues; to make changes of a formal and organizational nature in the texts of some of the proposed law's clauses and chapters; and to bring order to the arrangement. In summary, however, the deputies' teams did not propose any changes that would in essence disturb the draft's idea; i.e., to grant to the students self-government and autonomy.

On the other hand, issues of a fundamental nature were brought up in the initial problematical discussions, in which invited representatives from bureaus and institutions, as well as the draft's authors, participated along with the deputies. These are not new issues; they were discussed again during work on the draft and provoked controversy after the sessions. In the opinion of this writer, an important and formal arrangement of school functions should take place: Should scientific activity be placed before didactic, or should it be the other way around? Also evident was too little recognition of the teaching function.

A fundamental question was the relation between the Main Council of Science and Higher Schools and the minister. The majority of the participants called for a strengthening of his position and a broadening of his authority as the institution responsible for the entirety of activity among the higher schools. Everyone agreed with the proposal put forward by the deputies' team that the Council of State have jurisdiction over the Main Council. (The draft assumes that this will solve disputed issues between the council and the minister.) The team's proposal to give

the deciding vote in revocatory matters to the collective organ with the highest degree did not provoke any opposition.

Another issue came up in the discussions. The principle of eligibility of school and faculty authorities was not negated; there was only a question as to whether to grant to the minister the right of contesting the election results. A concrete argument can be the events at the Radom Higher School of Engineering [WSI]. Also the rector--as presented in the discussions--should cooperate with the deans and with people whom he approved. Familiar and understood was the frequently stated observation that the role of self-governing science employees should be strengthened in every collective body, and that they take part in the administration of the school.

On the other hand, there was no discussion on the article giving students the right to strike. The deputies stated that the recent, shocking events in the schools force one to decide whether persons who do not produce goods can have the legal guarantee to strike. (We were the second state after Sri Lanka to recognize this right in law.) There were proposals to give students other forms to demonstrate their opinions and opposition, with the exception of stopping teaching.

In issues concerning the students, there was support for the proposal of the deputies' team to resign from any preferential treatment in admitting students for study but for the time being to maintain the current system. On the other hand, there was no discussion, beyond the statement by the representative from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, of a more controversial problem--who decides on the creation of directions and specialties, as well as on the limits for admission to higher school studies?

There was much discussion on employee matters; e.g., the rotation of adjuncts. A proposal was made whereby for the good of school personnel policy, the principle of temporary employment of all academic teachers be adopted. It is worth emphasizing that the deputies' team, which had worked on the law, not only maintained employee privileges but also adopted many new formulations resulting from the new Teacher's Chapter prepared for teachers in lower schools.

As a result of these discussions, the deputies' teams obtained material for further work on the law. Among others, in the name of unity, they must integrate regulations dealing with, for example, the status of scientific employees with respect to the prepared drafts of laws on the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] and scientific institutions. At the conclusion, the director of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, Mieczyslaw Kazimierczuk, also proposed a broader recognition of the opinion of the Council of Ministers on the draft law, especially because many of the elements supported by the council were discussed at Thursday's meeting with the deputies.

9807
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DISCUSSION ON INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian 20 Nov, 5 Dec 81

[Article by I. Iuga and I. Stanescu covering discussions organized by the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and ERA SOCIALISTA on the topic: "The Operation of the Institutional System of Socialist Democracy in Romania']

[No 22, 20 Nov 81 pp 28-33]

[Text] The Romanian Communist Party gives priority attention to the development of democracy as an essential facet of the process of socialist construction. Beginning with the conditions provided by the new institutionalized framework, the essential requirement of the current stage is to ensure its proper operation and the full use of the opportunities that it offers. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out: "The organs of our socialist democracy - the workers councils, the general meetings, the people's councils and the organs of democratic leadership at the national level - must acquire a more profound content and effectively serve as fora for responsible discussions and the just and effective resolution of all problems." In the spirit of these exigencies, the problems of the operation of the institutional system of workers democracy and the masses' participation in leadership, as well as the role of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity [FSDU] and the mass and public organizations, became the subject of discussions organized by the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Science and ERA SOCIALISTA. In this issue, we are publishing in abbreviated form the first part of the discussions.

University professor Gheorghe Badrus, prorector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: This discussion dedicated to socialist democracy, the masses' participation in leadership and the operation of the institutional system of our socialist democracy, the role of the FSDU and the other mass and public organizations is taking place only a short time after a series of evaluations of great principled and practical importance conducted by the leadership of our party regarding the political system and socialist democracy. I would especially stress the remarkable speech made by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Second Congress of the Workers Councils, where numerous new problems related to this subject were discussed, essential problems of workers democracy.

In referring to several aspects of the subject of our discussion, I would like to point out the relationship between the political and the economic in the process of developing socialist democracy. Similarly, I would like to point out the relationships

between the organisms of worker self-management and the state organs and, as a practical result, the means capable of bringing about the efficient operation of the democratic framework and the use and development of the masses' initiatives and experiences. A problem closely related to the operation of socialist democracy is that of resolving certain social contradictions within this democratic framework, relying upon this same democratic framework. Similarly, the relationship between the affirmation of the leading role of the party and the furthering of democracy deserves attention - a problem that is of a current nature in the confrontation of ideas with the adversaries of the theory of scientific socialism. I felt that it is necessary, in this content, for us to deal with the place and role of the FSDU and the manner in which this democratic, original organism is affirmed in our country and the experience that we have.

Tamara Dobrin, executive president of the National Council of the FSDU: Our party's view regarding the intensification of the masses' participation in leadership, both in the forms of direct democracy and in those of representative democracy, implies for research activities in the social sciences the requirement to more thoroughly study the place in our state held by the new broadly representative political organisms. Allow me, in arguing this point, to note some of the principles and realities represented by the FSDU, as well as its main functions in the political system of our society.

The creation of the FSDU took place in light of the decisions of historical importance of the Ninth RCP Congress which inaugurated a process of broad democratic openings in the affairs of our society, openings summarized in the principle, as stressed numerous times by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that "socialism is created with the people and for the people."

For the first time, in 1968, by creating the FSDU a permanent, institutionalized framework was given to the unified system for all the people to adhere to and express their political unity under the leadership of the party and within a broadly representative and revolutionary political organism. This point of reference is a moment organically integrated into the process of developing socialist democracy.

Through the group of measures that followed, the FSDU acquired a role of the greatest significance in the democratic system of our society. As is known, this broad political organism participates in the discussions on the draft programs for the country's economic and social development, for each county and for each town, making it possible to express the points of view, the interests and the options of the mass and public organizations that make up the FSDU, in a practical sense involving the broadest popular masses. The FSDU ensures worker review, a broadly democratic means for citizen participation in the resolution of problems of public interest. Within its framework, the "Platform of Democracy" is carried out in the form of monthly public meetings in all localities, an opportunity for the people to meet with representatives of the party and state organs and to decide together upon solutions regarding the improvement of living and working conditions. The FSDU has the broad responsibility in reference to providing political information to the masses of workers, spreading our party's views about the world and popularizing science, technology and culture. It organizes electoral campaigns, presents political platforms upon which the voters are asked to vote and it proposes candidates for representatives to the Grand National Assembly.

At comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity was created, thus achieving a new organizational form designed to ensure the direct participation of millions of workers in cities and villages who are not communists in the country's political affairs and in the management of public affairs. In the midst of a full development and maturing process, this organization contains over three million members.

With a broad area of concerns extending into the economic and social affairs of each unit, village and housing project, with important specific attributes and with an immense and diversified educational function corresponding to the political, scientific, cultural and artistic development of its members, the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity [OSDU] has before it a vast area of action. Following the 1981 elections, over 19,100 members of this organization are representatives in the people's councils at all levels, as well as in the Grand National Assembly. At the same time, this organization has its own forms of activities, is directly involved in its members' participation in getting information, understanding and applying the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies, and it initiates actions regarding public property.

Within the framework of the attributes outlined by the new FSDU statute, the relationships between the OSDU and the other mass and public organizations are ones of unified collaboration and cooperation.

All this points out that we are facing a development of the concept regarding the promotion of a new, revolutionary system for the participation of the masses in the approval of decisions and for the leadership of the country by the people. The furthering of this concept requires, among other things, that the research in the area of the social sciences will be centered upon new theoretical problems. In my opinion, an important subject is represented by the relationship between the citizens' organizations and those of the state.

We must say that in the operation of the new institutional framework some prerogatives and obligations are not being achieved in their efficient forms. I am speaking about, for example, the obligation of the representatives - an obligation outlined both in the electoral laws and in the attributes of the FSDU - to permanently appear before the meetings and plenums of the front in order to present the results that have been obtained and the manner in which the proposals made by the voters during the electoral campaign period are being carried out. This obligation is being carried out sporadically and frequently formally.

The relationship between the state organisms and the mass ones actually constitutes the problem of participation in self-management and self-administration. When the masses are convinced that their suggestions, proposals and observations have been evaluated and well-used, certainly they will be fully committed to solving the problems that appear in practical activities. I feel that this new problem will have to be the subject of certain complex interdisciplinary studies, outlining the ways to optimize it. Besides the aspects related to the role of reports and the means of discussion within the front and the activities of the representatives, we are also talking about at this time discussions in a broad framework about abuses, violations of the law and so forth. In the sense of bringing the masses into this activity of reviewing and supervising socialist legalities.

I think another problem facing social-political research is in optimizing the work methods of the mass and public organizations within the framework of the FSDU.

It happens, however, that in committing themselves through their own means to achieving our party's and state's policies and programs, while preserving their own functions and attributes, the mass and public organizations sometimes initiate - as practice has shown - actions that run parallel to each other. Or, repetitive requests from the same citizen to the different organizations to which he belongs, instead of mobilizing and favoring the full expression of the initiative, can frequently lead to a dispersal of forces.

The OSDU ought to carry out activities characterized primarily by actions and permanent initiatives.

Any tendency to transform the activities of the organizations of socialist democracy and unity into already-existing forms, with some of them containing a good dose of formalism, cannot lead to positive results. That is why, beyond the careful research into the manner in which the activities of the new structures are carried out and how they are shaped in the diverse sectors, in housing projects, in villages or in the large enterprises and factories, the training program for party cadre and the cadre in the mass and public organizations should more systematically cover the new problems raised by the existence of the FSDU and especially the OSDU. This is so since it was found that some leadership cadre throughout the country not only do not have experience with the relations of our new organization, especially at the level of the economic units, and with the masses, but also inappropriately handle the system of meeting with the masses of citizens which has been required ever more in recent years, including meetings within the framework of the "Platform of Democracy," always failing to achieve an appropriate openness and a climate for authentic dialogue between the organs of local administration of the state and the resident, workers and citizens.

I must also say that much of the participation of non-party members and members of the OSDU in the management organs in the enterprises, in cultural institutes, in the media and so forth without a doubt calls for a special attention and a democratic spirit in the discussion of problems, in keeping them permanently informed and in understanding the mandate that they have from their own organization and from the group that they represent. We feel that the numerical level and the social structure of the organizations of socialist democracy and unity thus constitute a guarantee for the effective expression of a participative, effective democracy in social-political affairs.

University professor Mihai Chioreanu of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: In the introductory statement, comrade Badrus suggested, among other things, as a subject for our discussions the relationship between the leading role of the party and the development of democracy. In connection with this, in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches we find valuable ideas which we have not put to sufficient use in our activities. I am thinking about, for example, the profoundly current thesis that our party leads not in the name of the working class, but together with the working class, not in the name of the people, but together with the people. This fundamental principle of social-political affairs in socialism as taken on profound significance regarding the direct and immediate participation of the working class and all the people in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society. It seems to me that with regards to this thesis those who teach party education, and not just we, should reflect more upon and

bring forth arguments in explaining and sustaining it. At the same time, I am thinking about the fact that party's exercise of its role as the leading political force does not mean and should not lead, in practice, to the monopolization of the management of social processes. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed, there should be a rethinking of the concept regarding the party's vanguard role under conditions where the party has over three million members and where a broadly representative framework and an organizational and institutional framework were created for democracy and the people's direct participation in leadership.

The decisive role that our party has in the achievement of socialist democracy and in the full expression of the human personality in the act of guiding social processes constitutes a thesis of special theoretical significance that calls for a thorough analysis. Therefore, these are all themes which we have the duty to analyze and to better argue them in the process of training cadre and in all political -ideological activities.

There is a dialectical relationship between the affirmation of our socialist democracy and internal party democracy. In the final analysis, the carrying out of the new principles of the new order and the spread of a democratic style of work and leadership in our entire society depend upon expressly the manner in which the values of democracy in general and of party democracy in particular are achieved in the party. The elements newly introduced into the party's statute by the 12th Congress point towards the effective achievement of the requirements of internal party democracy, which, naturally, will create for communists and the leadership cadre a democratic way of thinking and style of work and forms and methods for the democratic leadership of society. Naturally, at the basis of the great achievements made to date there are still things to be improved. In the spirit of what comrade Tamara Dobrin said, I am thinking, for example, about the aspects of formalism that we still frequently encounter. I also agree with the critical observations regarding the manner in which we include the current problems of FSDU activities in the educational process.

Dr Marin Nedelea: Recently, in the discussions about democracy, with this discussion being most edifying, as well as in the studies devoted to this subject, the definition of our socialist democracy as a participative democracy has gained circulation. Naturally, an essential factor for our socialist democracy and for ensuring its social efficiency, both in a political sense and in the sense of the influence exercised over economic progress and the development of the other spheres of activity, is ensuring the masses' participation in the management of society, in the discussion of problems, in the adoption of decisions and in their implementation. But, is this notion sufficient, this concept for expressing not just one, but all the essential facets of socialist democracy?

It is known that democracy represents a type of state and, as such, it has a class nature that constitutes the most encompassing denominator, in all aspects, of its essential characteristics. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the requirement "for replacing the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat" with the concept of "workers democracy" or "a state of workers democracy."

In the literal and lexical meaning of the word, any democracy is without a doubt participative and only the nature and amount of the participation of the diverse

social and political components differ according to the nature of the democracy and its social-historical nature. It is clear that it would be nonsensical, at least in definitions, for us to attempt to define the degree of participation through the participative nature. In current terms, to speak of the people's participation in the leadership when we are defining the overall essence of socialist democracy also has the drawback of presuming that this actionhas a number of participants or even that the participant would be a type of second-class person who is attracted to the participation. Also, in the Constitution it is written that "all power in the Socialist Republic of Romania belongs to the people, that "the holders of power" are the people and no one else and that the people, therefore, "exercise this power" and do not merely "participate" in the exercise of it.

Beyond the difficulties in terminology stemming from the use of the word "participation," we believe there also exist circumstances of another order that have contributed to the special accentuation of the participative aspect up to the point of the unfounded attempt to present it as the overall, encompassing aspect of the essence of socialist democracy. First of all, the requirements for political actions to educate and involve the masses represent a permanent current tasks, even if, naturally, the level and scope of these actions continually increase. Second, the relatively new problem of combining the forms of representative democracy with those of direct democracy brings to the forefront aspects in which one cannot speak of the complete exercise of leadership, but actually the direct participation in the exercise of leadership in adequate organizational forms, alongside the organisms of state power and administration. Participation in the sense invoked here is clearly a facet, an aspect of democracy that cannot be substituted for the whole.

Another problem is that of the specific carrying out under Romania's conditions of confrontations and dialogues with other lines of thought, either hostile or merely different, from our fundamental concepts. The need to use a vocabulary that would be understood by the previous speakers sometimes led to the acceptance and very broad use in our publications and in theoretical discussions of the term "participation," initially stemming from psychology but insistently used by Western political science. To those in Western political science, the term "participative democracy" means a political system characterized by the adherence of the citizens to the respective system of political and social values. As a trait of social psychology, the political adherence of the masses represents without a doubt, under the conditions of socialism, a basic political objective and a premise and sine qua non condition for the appropriate operation of the political organism and the development of the social order and the state. For that reason, the use of the term participation, even with the mentioned significance, to define socialist democracy is, certainly, fully justified. The attempt, however, to singularize it in the explanation of the essence of socialist democracy has proven to be unjustified, in my opinion. The political concept of the masses' participation in leadership consitutes without a doubt an important instrument for defining the specific nature and superiority of socialist democracy, but not the only one and not the most general one for the overall, encompassing definition of its essence, which is one of worker democracy (a natural antonym for bourgeois democracy) and the power of all the people.

University professor Ion Florea of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: Socialist democracy is a complex process having qualitative determining factors which express the essence

itself of the new order and the organic unity between socialism and the democratic nature of social relations. Within this framework, I emphasize that true democracy is indissolubly tied to the establishment of social equality and equity in all areas of the social, economic and political system, in the relationships between the members of society and in the relationships between the different social classes and categories. The democratic process itself constitutes a fundamental dimension of socialism, while social equity refers to the essence of socialist democracy. Any deviation from the achievement of this principle profoundly affects the democratic operation of the new order and leads to the appearance of certain dysfunctions and contradictions that slow the progress of socialism at all levels. Some Western authors, in distorting the essence of socialist democracy, reduce it merely to the facet of mass participation. In their view, this - I am referring especially to the concepts of the representatives of "new rights" - would have a mystifying, leveling effect. The reality is that socialist democracy has nothing in common with such a view and with the substitution and confusion of values. It constitutes the most favorable framework for the realization of a spiritually, multilaterally affirmed rich human personality.

In a qualitative sense, socialist democracy also has an ideological-philosophical dimension in the sense that its consistent promotion involves an openness towards and a receptivity to everything that represents truth and scientific and cultural values on the level of thought and practice. It is incompatible with a dogmatic and reductionist spirit in theory and in practice and with any type of fetish or cannonization both of reality and especially of points of view elaborated at a given time and of theoretical concepts and approaches to reality.

A dialectical relationship to reality is an imperative both for social leadership and for a scientific theoretical approach that will take into account the pre-eminence of data that is continually changing in social-political affairs compared to our representations and concepts.

A consistent democratic spirit is incompatible with stagnation in thinking and with making absolute certain theories and concepts, certain forms and methods of social organziation and leadership and certain types and models of socialist revolution and construction and social organization, considered to have universal value and to be valid everywhere and everytime. On the contrary, true democracy and revolutionary spirit require the consistent promotion of new things in all the areas of socialist construction and in all social practices, and, if it is necessary, the rethinking of our representations and ideas in the light of revolutionary experiences and practices and the new trends and economic-social realities that are occurring on the domestic and international levels.

A consistently dialectic point of view involves the promotion of new things and a militant spirit in thought and in action and the admission of a diversity of methods and ways for the construction and evolution of socialism, including democratic organization and leadership. From this point of view, on the basis of a continuing development of socialist democracy noticeable progress had been achieved on the level of theoretical thinking and creating a climate appropriate to the scientific, creative dealing with our social and political realities.

In going beyond the narrow limits of a period of dogmatism, our party has promoted, along with the struggle against reactionary theories, a dialogue having progressive, democratic and innovative concepts in the areas of social philosophy and science. This dialogue of ideas constitutes the common note of dialectics as a theoretical means of approach and of democracy as a political system and style of social leadership. Dialogue and the free exchange of ideas and opinions form the substance itself of democracy and an ideological climate that is itself profoundly democratic. Thus, dialogue is also a means of stimulating thought about and understanding of realities on the part of political factors, of mutually enriching the political experience and thought of the masses and the leadership cadre, of making people aware and accepting political objectives and responsibilities of each work group and each citizen.

University lecturer Stana Buzatu of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: In continuing the ideas that have already been presented, I want to stress the requirement of using the theoretical aspects of the experiences of socialist democracy as an expression of the process itself of improving the methods of leadership and organization and of the operation of the social system. We frequently encounter in theoretical works and studies descriptions of facts that dominate to the disadvantage of analyses, and we sometimes ourselves prefer in our studies or discussions that type of generalization that is "much too general" to be useful to social practice and that is to the disadvantage itself of the problemsolving so necessary to any progress in understanding. Today, it becomes necessary to consider the overall problem of social research in the context of the multidimensionality of the human situation. Regardless of the parameters and the indicators that we might use, the analysis of the development of our democracy, for example, comes up against the group of problems that deal with the affirmation of the human situation.

The meaning of the evolution of our democratic affairs is represented by the humanist and humanizing finality of all economic and social activities. The question that could be asked is the following: What is the impact exercised by the system of democracy upon human relationships and upon the individual's openings towards society and, conversely, what is the degree of society's receptivity to what we call the human situation experienced at the level of each individual? Our party's documents stress that socialist democracy is a system open to creativity and social innovation and that the historical experience in this field is currently being put together. I believe that the expression of an experiment draws attention to the need to more closely look at phenomena as they are in reality, not obstructing a critical perspective, with a combative spirit being required to spring from what we call the nature of being and to aspire to the human situation and the natural expression of each individual's abilities in the institutional system that has been created. We have shown here the insufficiently analyzed, to date, virtues of a system of broad coverage, such as the FSDU. I beleive that such virtues, which bring to the forefront the need to have a complementary relationship between the different facets of economic, political, social and moral phenomena, can be put to use on the level of affirming democracy as each worker's quality of being, living and working.

Similarly, I would like to show the manner in which we evaluate the place and weight of the political in the overall process of developing democracy and in the overall system of improving social relations. I believe that this must be seen in the dynamics

themselves of society and, from this point of view, I believe that it is worth more thoroughly analyzing the aspects of the interdependency of the moral and the political in the sphere of democracy. I stress the moral burdens without which the ideas that crystalize the tendencies and meanings of democratic development, such as those of liberty, responsibility and human dignity, would not have sufficient influential power or the power to internalize norms in behavior and comportment in social affairs.

The antidote for certain dysfunctionalities and certain undesired phenomena is, without a doubt, the achievement of an optimum correlation between collective organs' exercise of prerogatives and the raising of the level of competency at all levels, first of all, at the professional-scientific level. As has been shown in our discussion, here we also see the intervention of the ability to promote such a style and method capable of using the masses' experience. The socialization and democratization of the act of leadership must pass through this analysis of the capability to train that we have today, not only in a strict, professional-scientific acceptance, but also in the acceptance of experience. A problem arises that seems to me open to research, as well as, first of all, social practice: the manner in which we ourselves relate to a certain experience that we have passed through and to a certain discovery of our system. We know that in social affairs there are no leaps ahead without investments. I say this with the intention of emphasizing the need for continuity and the perenniality of certain things that have been acquired, while I do not believe that this need is of a nature that violates the critical relationship to and the combatting of everything that is "resistant" to new things, conservatism and routine. On the other hand, I believe that the question that is being asked is that of being more generous towards certain experiences validated by the history of these years, a generosity that should not be merely stated, but one systematically supported by research activities in the social sciences, as well as by the mass media. We feel the need to go beyond the segmented concerns of the different public organisms, as well as the parallelism that can appear and that have been referred to in discussions.

University professor Constantin Statescu, dean of the law department at the University of Bucharest: Allow me to point out several aspects of the very interesting problem on the agenda of our discussion, aspects included in the party's policy for the continuing development of socialist democracy: How are the problems of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration reflected in the activities of the enterprises in its legal aspects and the development and amplification of the content of the legal categories? It is known that each enterprise participates in a series of economic relationships expressed in relationships of a legal nature. In these relationships, there is a close reflection of the relationship between the development and furthering of democracy, on one hand, and the growth of social and individual responsibility on the other. Worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration are reflected in what we call the legal personality of each enterprise, which means a certain autonomy for it, a certain patrimonial independence that is clearly relative, with it being closely linked to the existence of socialist property.

We frequently stress, and certainly this stress has its deep foundations in our social realities, the triple or multiple quality of the workers as they participate in the production process - as producers, owners and consumers of all social items. This expression of a triple function does not violate the unified and indivisible nature

of the state's socialist property. It reflects the steadfastness of the responsibility of those who manage the production processes and those who, in the positions as owners, must also bear the responsibility for the results of their work. In the process of developing socialist democracy and in the evolution of the forms of organization and management, there is, at the same time, a reflection of the legal responsibility of those who are members of the work group in each socialist unit. I am speaking of the sharing of profits as a result of the development of efficiency in each enterprise and, at the same time, of the responsibility for the lack of efficiency in the activities of certain enterprises, as reflected in the diverse forms of salary payment. In profit sharing and in the principle of material responsibility, from an economic point of view there is a reflection of the close unity that exists between the development of democracy and the growth of political and economic responsibility on the part of the workers collectives for the proper administration of that portion of the national wealth that was entrusted to them.

Another distinct aspect of the development of socialist democracy is that of participating in the carrying out of justice. In the course of carrying out our socialist revolution, the popular masses participate in diverse ways in the carrying out of the justice process, a process sufficiently delicate by its implications, with regards to tje people's individual rights and freedoms. Over the years, we have taken part in different forms of introducing the popular element into justice - in the form of the people's assessors in the past and currently the judgement commissions in the socialist units and in the people's councils. The party's program drew attention to the need to accentuate the participation of the popular masses in the carrying out of justice and, as a result, the 1977 National RCP Conference outlined several very precise guidelines.

I would emphasize, among other things, the significant growth obtained by the judgement commissions in the enterprises. What do these commissions represent? They are organisms that make a large contribution to the democratization of legal activities in our country and to the resolution of misunderstandings that exist between citizens, some of which are not small because of their consequences and because of the deterioration of citizenly relations. The judgement commissions resolve a very important number of cases which otherwise would have to pass through the courts. The question could be asked whether these commissions, which are nonetheless commissions of a public nature, not a statal nature like the courts, at the point where they carry out a statal function, a function of punishment, coercion and sanctions, could perhaps give out sentences, for example, of prison terms? Would such a participation by these commissions be compatible with the issuing of these type of punishments? The answer was that they must find the adequate means having a public nature to their punishments and of applying punishments that do not deprive people of their freedom - such as fines or the exercise of a certain type of productive activity within certain worker collectives.

Gheorghe Badrus: As a lawyer and from what you know from practice, what opinion do you have: To what degree is a series of legal provisions used precisely by those persons who are involved in the democratic framework of management? There are legal provisions that give the right to representatives to place initiatives at various levels. From what you know, to what degree are these democratic premises used in legislative activities?

Constantin Statescu: In order to answer your question, it would be necessary to have a study that we would have to do overall. However, I will respond beginning with the particular cases that I know. There are legal provisions that give important rights to those who are elected to different categories of fora of workers democracy. In my opinion, everything depends upon the proper election of those who are called upon to use these rights. There are some people with a very high degree of diligence in carrying out their mandate and who, by virtue of these legal provisions, go to all the institutes and all the organizations in order to defend the interests of the citizens in a certain community, which could be a street community, a town or a city community, depending upon the district that they represent. Just as there are some people who ignore these legal provisions. I could not say whether they ignore them in their own way or, while knowing them, ignore them with regards to implementing them. In other words, people who probably are not sufficiently well-elected or not sufficiently well-attracted to public activities and, as a result, do not carry out their mandate.

Our laws create an organizational framework and a very good institutional framework for the full expression of all people, and we all participate in social affairs, regardless of whether we are carrying out a mandate or not. It is just that this framework should be better used. Here it seems to me that there is room for better things in the future, for a more efficient education, for a more thorough understanding of these rights and for an education of those who must apply the democratic rights guaranteed by our society.

Tamara Dobrin: In this regard, an example of the expression of legislative initiative by the representatives in recent sessions can be seen in the manner in which the law on the people's councils has evolved, which has been improved and restructured as a result of it discussion in the Legislative Chamber and in the Congress of the People's Councils.

In connection with the discussion of the plan, we can also note the action that the representatives initiated for modifying the agricultural investment program as a result of discussing the documents of the 12th RCP Congress.

Comrade Stanescu, you approached in a theoretical and principled manner the problems of self-administration and especially of economically strengthening the socialist units. I want to say that the state of affairs should be thus, but, unfortunately, there still are sectors where one of the elements of legal personality - patrimonial independence and responsibility - has fallen, which in fact affects the responsibility and real implementation of the legal personality. The housing fund, for example, is socialist property. We have tenant committees that have specific attributes, but we must unite their functions with those of the people's councils because these collective organs of tenants do not have efficient means at hand for action, while those state enterprises specializing in the administration of the housing fund, which have the means to repair, control and maintain these properties, operate outside of the control of the tenant committees. The housing fund is one of the areas of the national wealth that is not everywhere well-administered and it is a known fact that in most cases they deteriorate more rapidly than normal. The tenant committees can work in self-administration, in fixing up and in cleaning up, but the proper administration of the housing and the problem of its maintenance require the exercise of control by the citizens and tenants committees over the manner in which the important means available to the specialized enterprises are used.

Ion Mitran, deputy chief editor of ERA SOCIALISTA: It is clear that such a controversial and especially keen contemporary discussion in connection with the values and functions of democracy draws to the attention of the scientific researchers and the public the problems of the social efficiency of the structures and institutions of one political system or another.

Actually, the subject of our discussion brings to the center of attention the organic relationship between socialism and democracy, a relationship so clear that, paraphrasing a statement that ends a recent interesting novel, we could say that if real democracy is not true socialism, then it does not exist. In other words, both democracy and socialism and vice versa.

Not by chance out discussion came upon the problems of efficiency and the social effectiveness of democracy.Certainly, certain difficulties must be and should be overcome: to a greater or lesser degree, trends of subjectivism and voluntarism could not but be generated in one part of another in the process of creating a new order, as well as a certain amount of formalism, with democratic norms sometimes becoming inoperative. This is so because it is clear that when consultations with the masses remains merely a thesis or a routinely repeated slogan above the level of social practice, subjectivism and voluntarism remain in action. In connection with this, not only the adversaries of scientific socialism, but also the comrades with ideas, those who are sincerely working along the lines of social progress, have made observations that the deviations from the natural organic relationship between socialism and democracy more than once provided arguments "at will" for the detractors of the new order. For that reason, efforts to overcome these anomalies are especially important.

In Romania, the party, after the Ninth RCP Congress, not only criticized such deviations, but also took measures for the construction and affirmation of a broad and encompassing system of socialist democracy. The expression of the superiority of any political system cannot be appreciated except by beginning with the objective and subjective conditions of the expression of the diverse social categories in the sphere of leadership. This is the source of the problems which, if they do not cross over the threshold of meditations themselves or the simple descriptions of the system, do not find their desired results in practice, that is, in the sphere of applying the eventual new theoretical gains of the discussions or confrontations of opinions.

Our socialist society currently has an organizational framework unique in its type. As the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stress, the question is one of the optimum operation of this system. As it is written in the Party's Program, this represents one of the fundamental objectives of the current stage. In connection with this, there should be a discussion from various angles of the relationship between centralism and democracy and the place of democratic centralism in political leadership. The functionality of socialist democracy is in a close relationship with the consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism, an application that becomes more fertile as it gains the flexibility imposed by the diversity and dynamics of social life and by the requirements of a living society not lacking in contradictions and difficulties, including on a level of bringing into harmony the different categories of interests, from the general and particular up to those of certain larger or smaller social categories. In this regard, the efforts of the researchers in the

social sciences and those of the practitioners stem from the fact that the problem of making good use of the dual functions of socialist democracy is permanently on the agenda: of effectively discussing the line to follow and of achieving the decisions made with united forces. Thus, the forms of participating in social affairs and the entire organizational system determine a permanent contact with the masses and maintain a lively dialogue in the different leadership organisms with the workers. The question we must ask ourselves is that referring to the efficiency of this dialogue both for the decisionmaking factors at the diverse levels and for the broad mass of workers.

In this discussion, it has been shown that the efficient operation of our democratic system depends upon a number of factors, with subjective ones having an important place. With regards to this, I would like to point out, with the clear outline of the attributes of different institutions depending upon these subjective factors, the complementary nature of these, but also the requirement of avoiding parallelisms, paying attention to the content of the democratic structures and their efficiency. For that reason, the problems of the professional and moral behavior of cadre in diverse fields and the strengthening of the spirit of responsibility and discipline also hinge upon making people aware of their duties, bringing about a full agreement between that which is established and that which is achieved and more decisively eliminating certain tendencies of subjectivism, expressions of indiscipline and the insufficient systematic pursuit of the fulfillment of certain measures adopted by diverse collective leadership organs, especially in the case of certain mass and public organizations, as has been stressed in this discussion.

Another problem is that of the formalism of certain meetings and sessions, be they institutionalized or ad-hoc meetings. Such aspects must certainly also be examined by the social sciences.

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[Text] We are publishing in an abbreviated form part two of the discussion organized by the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and ERA SOCIALISTA. Part one appeared in No 22/1981.

The comments grouped together in this part deal with other aspects, both practical and theoretical, of the operation of the institutional system of workers democracy and the participation of the masses in leadership. The discussion of these subjects remains open, beginning with the priority requirement, as recently stressed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that "in the spirit of the principles of socialist democracy it is necessary for us to work fully decisively for the proper operation of the collective organisms that we have created in all areas of activity."

Vasile Inoan of the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils: Resuming with some ideas presented earlier in the discussions, I would also stress the fact that, in discussing the functionality of the institutional system of our socialist democracy, we should note certain tendencies towards parallelism and overlap. In other words and more precisely, there are certain types of meetings where, generally, the same people participate, but within the framework of certain different organisms. For example,

the nationwide plan is submitted for discussion, certainly in somewhat different ways, but in essence the subject for discussion is the same in the general meetings of the workers, in the sessions of the people's councils, in citizens meetings and in meetings of youth and trade union organizaions and other mass organizations, and more recently at the meetings of the organizations of socialist democracy and unity. Since all mass organizations belong to the FSDU, we should find an efficient formula to analyze common problems in a single forum.

As is known, a year ago new modifications were made to the law for organizing and operating the people's councils and semi-annual meetings were instituted within which the mayors of localities and the presidents of the executive committees of the county people's councils must appear before the citizens and report on activities regarding the manner in which decisions were implemented, how the localities are being administered and how they are working to satisfy the people's demands. I have compiled some statistics on the manner in which these meetings were carried out at the end of the first half of this year. Under the pretext of economic priorities, many of these meetings were postponed. If at the town, city and municipal levels these meetings were held, at the county level in 11 counties the first-half meetings had not been organized even 2 months after the end of the first-half. This shortcoming must be quickly eliminated if we keep in mind that we are talking about a report on activities to the voters and about a means of review for the voters regarding the activities of the local organ of state power.

In very many places, these citizens meetings were transformed into a type of meeting with the aktiv, with nearly only local leadership cadre sitting on the presidium and being among the ranks of the speakers. And, the citizens meetings ought to convene the workers, the representatives of the enterprises and the representatives of the citizens in the housing areas. In some counties, two to three mayors, a vice president and several county-level leadership cadre participated in making speeches. In one county, merely three citizens took the floor in this citizens meeting. It seems that this is a problem that must reflect upon those who organized these meetings.

Other problem that I would like to refer to is the blending of state activities with those of the new public organisms. Working in the system of the people's councils, I feel that in the future there will be ever greater movement in the direction of public and mass activities assuming some of the attributes of the state organs. Citizens already administer a large part of the national wealth through their own organisms. Communal forests, totalling over 450,000 hectares, are administered by citizen committees. The buildings in which we live, which are socialist property, are for their part administered by tenant associations and represent 1.5 million apartments. Within the framework of self-management and self-administration, projects worth over four billion lei were built during the five year plan that just ended from the monetary contributions of the citizens, decided upon in citizens meetings.

Similarly, public organs are assuming certain attributes in the care of certain categories of minors. A large number of citizens participate in the activities of the commissions that operate alongside the people's council and which take care of these actions and support the state's organs in the care of different categories of minors. Last year, 47,000 cases were reported in these commissions. In 31,200 cases measures were taken to provide care.

There are possibilities to also broaden democracy with regards to ensuring the citizens' review of the manner in which units providing services to the people and units serving the people operate. In my opinion. the chief of the stores in certain housing areas, the doctor in the health district or the head of a store could be confirmed in this position by the citizens' meetings in the housing area.

Dr Mircea Preda of the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils: The replacement of economic administration with economic-fiancial self-administration at the enterprise level, as well as at the local level, is not a simple change in terminology, but a reconsideration of the method of managing and administering enterprises and administrative-territorial units.

In order to understand the content of the actions in economic-financial self-administration, it is necessary to begin, as comrade Constantin Stanescu stressed here, with the analysis through the prism of ownership relations of the relationships between the state as the owner of all property and the enterprise as the administrator and manager of a portion of this property, with the full responsibility for its administration belonging to the workers, the workers councils and the collective leadership organs.

Certainly, in the activities of the people's councils and their subordinate units the forms of economic-financial self-administration embrace a series of specific situations determined by the nature of the local organ of state power and by the principles of organization and operation of these units. An important role in improving the activities at the administrative-territorial level is played by the recent measures taken along party and state lines for strengthening self-management and self-supply, for increasing agricultural production and for ensuring a regular and equitable supply to the people. Either directly or through the intermediary of certain subordinate economic units, the people's councils ensure the administration of certain important material resources that were given to them for use, from year to year increasing their value and overall achieving the economic-financial consolidation of these units. The people's councils' creation of certain economic units of their own constitutes a form of expression of self-management and self-administration.

By implementing the decisions adopted by the National Conference of the Presidents of People's Councils in March 1978 and the guidelines and directives to switch to the self-financing of all administrative-territorial units, eliminating subsidies from the budget, the number of people's councils that balanced their budgets using their own incomes increased from 312 in 1979 to 573 in 1980. In fact, in several years all administrative-territorial units will have to achieve economic-financial self-administration. Far from being an action with a limited administrative nature, self-financing constitutes the economic-financial instrument of self-management. In this, the people's councils and the citizens themselves assume, through the entire democratic system of exercising and carrying out state power on the local level, responsibilities for the activities that are carried out in their area: industry, agriculture, supplying the people, services, trade, education, health care, culture and social actions

University professor Eugen Godeanu of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: One of the meanings of the measures that our party has adopted over the past decade is the ever more

powerful affirmation of mass and public organizations in the democratic leadership of our society. In this context, the definition of the role and functions of the trade unions and their involvement in the leadership mechanism has special theoretical and practical significance. Being a significant component of the system of political organization and leadership in society and in the system of our socialist democracy the trade unions have experienced a permanent development.

The growth of the role of the trade unions and their responsibilities during the current stage is also marked by the growth in the role and attributes of the workers councils and the general meetings. Thus, the production plan in the economic units, as well as the naming of new leadership cadre, are currently discussed in the workers councils and are submitted for approval in the general meetings. Likewise, the acceptance of new members in the work group is done with the approval of the leadership council and the general meeting in the section or sector in which this person wants to work, while proposals regarding sanctions or dismissals are also discussed within these groups. At the same time, a strengthening is taking place in the role of the commissions in the various fields and the judgement councils. Commissions for the protection and development of public property have been organized and worker review has been strengthened.

In preserving their autonomy as mass organizations, the trade unions are making their contribution, within the collective leadership organisms to which they belong, to the elaboration and carrying out of decisions regarding economic, social and political-educational activities, and are working for the harmonious blending of the general interests of society with the interests of the workers groups. The achievement of the workers councils' attributes under optimum conditions and conditions of efficiency requires competency and a spirit of responsibility on the part of the representatives of the trade unions, calling for, in this sense, the rigorous planning of work, the attraction of all members to the study and discussion of problems and the approval of decisions, and the increase in the contributions of the workers' representatives to the activities of the councils. Including the councils for the workers' review of economic-social activities in the enterprises in the sphere of attributes of the trade unions represents, in this regard, a new element which expresses the right and duty of the trade union to organize a workers' review of the manner in which the party's decisions are carried out and how the laws of the state are implemented, and of the manner in which the decisions of the workers' general meetings are achieved. The efficiency of the work of the trade unions is, without a doubt, in a close dependency with the continuing improvement of the style of work, a problem that requires our concern in both its theoretical and practical aspects.

Universi[illegible]ssor Ladislau Lorincz of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: We are discussing the [illegible]s of improving the process of the democratic leadership of society beginning with the existing institutional framework, without losing sight of the requirement to continue to improve it. Certainly, it is necessary, among other things, for us to concentrate upon the forms of exercising the attributes conferred by this institutional framework, as well as upon the requirement to fully use it. Here, a more general problem is raised. In the literature devoted to democracy, there is less talk about the economic efficiency of democracy. From my point of view, I believe

that there has been too little movement in this direction in the specialized research. In the final analysis, the broadly democratic organisms that have been created must prove their viability as well in the economic field and their economic efficiency in general. And, I believe that if we view it from this aspect then it is necessary for us to broaden the view on democracy.

Certainly, the democratic organs must have an appropriate composition and include all the social categories. We have the problem, however, of the quality of the people and their training, since these organs are called upon to resolve the fundamental problems of economic-social activities and problems of great complexity that fall under the attributes of the people's councils, the general meetings and the workers councils.

The participation of the workers in the management of an enterprise and an administrative unit also depends, among other things, upon the style of work adopted in the management of these and upon the degree in which the elected representatives of the workers have assimilated the knowledge and training necessary for their participation. We are also speaking, naturally, of education and a change in mentality, an especially complex process. In our specialized literature, studies and articles appear that raise the problem of improving the system and democratic institutions exclusively on the basis of developing a new awareness and educational work. I believe, however, that to a great degree we must keep in mind the problem of interests. All too little do we speak of the full achievement of a unity of interests without which it would be difficult for us to reach the level of will and awareness. General interests are objectively integrated in group interests and personal interests, and we must try to ensure that the fundamental interests of the person and the group will be appropriately represented, in the studies on this subject, in the formulation and unified integration of these interests.

The second problem that I wish to raise here refers to worker self-management in the system of socialist democracy. I begin with a certain existing formula right here in the subject matter of this discussion and in the research program in the social sciences of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. I want to say that self-management and its place in the political system are not always understood in a unified manner. When the classical forms of the leadership of society are studied - the political, statal and societal forms - in some places self-management is considered a social form. The problem arises: How do we consider self-management? Does it have a statal nuance? There is a broader, more general acceptance of self-management and if we begin with this general acceptance then the state itself is the form of self-management of the nation. The people's councils are organs of the self-management of the people. I do not believe that this is the accepted version that we give to self-management at the present.

In my opinion, self-management can also be considered in the acceptance of state power and it basically has a political nature, since the forms of self-management at a national level carry out a very important political role. At the level of the enterprise and the economic unit, an important political role is played by the general meetings and workers councils, since the management itself of the economy has a political nature.

Matei Simandan, first secretary of the Arad County Committee of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY]: The development of our workers democracy and the developmental nature of participation show the existence of a profound dialectics in the objective and subjective factors in the improvement of this process. Moreover, this is also the meaning of the creative contribution of the RCP in the theoretical approach to the problem of increasing the role of the awareness factor in building the new society. At this level, it also has in mind the need for education in order to participate and for creating a culture of participation, a complex and contradictory process. During the current stage of societal development, other elements also intervene that we must take into account, such as: the requirement for scientific leadership and the permanent broadening of the sphere of those participating in leadership, the unequal levels of awareness about people's functions as producers, owners and consumers, the cultural non-homogeneity, the unequal levels of education and awareness, and so forth.

Certainly, for young people participation in leadership has specific aspects. We know of the measures established in connection with the participation of young people and the UCY representatives in the collective leadership organisms in economic units, schools and institutes. The young person is no longer regarded as a simple object of economic-social affairs and educational activities, but especially as a subject of social actions. Even more, society affirms its future through the young people. Beginning with these considerations, we will stress that in the preparation of young people for participation an essential contribution is made by the processes of social learning which achieve the teaching of social values and statutes, norms, attitudes and behaviors that ensure the use of social experience and the integration of the individual.

The school puts important educational-formative values into the process of preparing young people for work and life. There is special importance in the orientation of all of educational towards participative learning and towards its integration with life and social requirements and the entire group of school activities and extra-school activities that involve social participation.

Experience shows that the ever more powerful expression of the democratic forms of leadership also has a formative influence. In a democratic framework and climate, each worker better understands social and individual duties and responsibilities, working with more energy for the fulfillment of professional and public tasks. The specific social research conducted in Arad County on this subject shows that the process to which we are referring is not carried out in a linear manner or in an of itself. The degree of professional integration, the place in the work group, the system of moral stimulants, the quality of the human relations at the place of work, the system of interests and the motivations for participation or non-participation influence the formation of the young person's personality. In this regard, we are working for each UCY organization to become a true school of democratic political leadership in which the young person will decide and work to carry out his tasks and will himself ensure the resolution, in adequate forms, of the many problems raised by life and work, and the preparation and organization of free time.

Fred Mahler of the Center for Research for the Problems of Young People: In addition to what has been said here, I would like to add something, referring myself to certain

current studies in political sociology. In this field of research, a nucleus has recently been created that is investigating the problem of democracy from different angles. These nucleuses in themselves and the diversified research into the democratic phenomenon are welcomed, but, in my opinion, the disparities and lack of coordination that is sometimes felt affect the carrying out of activities in this field. I feel that here the institute of political sciences could play an even more active role for a mutual understanding and coordination of the different research groups that are involved in these problems.

In some studies regarding the behavior of young people in organizational affairs or in social affairs in general, we found, contrary to our expectations, that there is no sufficiently strong correlation between a variable independence, like the function within the framework of the UCY organization or a certain task in the organization, on one hand, and the attitude at work and the attitude in social affairs, on the other hand. The hypothesis with which we began was that there absolutely had to be a positive correlation between the fact that a young person is a member of a UCY organization or that he has a certain permanent task and his practical behavior in work or his attitude in one area or another.

Another example is that regarding participation of the representatives of the UCY organization in the workers councils. We began with the hypothesis that the forms of direct participation in activities in an economic unit are correlated with a series of active behaviors, with the initiatives in the organization's affairs, with initiatives at the place of work and with a certain performance in work by this young person. The investigations conducted showed that there was no determining relationship that would operate automatically among the attributes conferred within the framework of the workers councils and the active behaviors of the young people who carry out these functions.

The problem is what must be done so that in all cases the participative behaviors will be equal to the participative system made available. An important role is played by the degree of understanding by the subjects of their role and their means of participation. Furthermore, a number of speakers here have referred to the phenomenon of participation. Actually, an entire range of problems have been shown tied to education for participation and to the formation of practical experience for participation and not just a theoretical understanding of the means of participation. Comrade Stana Buzatu correctly stressed the role of the mechanisms for identifying with certain values that motivate participation in the system of democracy at an individual level. To a much less degree, there has been an analysis of another group of causes, to which a number of comrades have referred. These are the ones that hinge not upon the manner in which they work, well or badly as a certain factor, not upon a level of education and not upon a degree of social-political involvement of the person, citizen or young person, but upon the functionality of the forms that have been instituted, upon the relationships between the institutions that have been created, upon their unity and upon the manner in which this unit is achieved in life and in practice.

University professor Ovidiu Trasnea of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: There has been a discussion here, I believe a very useful one, about numerous aspects of the development, furthering and affirmation of workers democracy in our society, especially

placing the stress on practical aspects, without neglecting, certainly, those dealing with principles in which the different characteristics and tendencies of the overall political system are reflected, as well as the fundamental traits of this evolution and the improvement of democracy. Similarly, it has been pointed out, and I believe that it is again an achievement of this discussion, a series of phenomena that are still slowing the development from the rates and qualitative levels that we all want. This is so because, actually, we see in democracy not an end unto itself, but an essential means that incorporates and must incorporate even more and more fuller the system of values of socialism, as well as a means for improving the order overall.

As has been discussed here, participation has very many values. First of all, it is a means of expressing the principle of the people's self-management, in other words, it has a decisive political significance. At the same time, what is especially important, it is a significant factor for social mobilization. Naturally, it is also a means for the adequate representation of interests in the political process, as well as the school for preparing the citizen in order to be affirmed as an active subject in the different sectors of activity. Comrade Tamara Dobrin noted that some cadre who work in the local organs of the state have serious deficiencies in their attitudes towards the citizens and that these relationships suffer in certain regards. Naturally in this sense, participation is also a school, a civic school. In the course of our discussion, we have talked about this role, especially with regards to young people. It should be said that for everyone, for the leaders, for the citizens democracy is a civic school. The idea that I want stress is the need to consistently pursue the transformation of the values of democratic socialist participation into an active reserve for multilateral improvement.

The problem raised by comrade Ladislau Lorincz, that of interests, is directly reflected in the process of participating in leadership. In our society, we have achieved a homogenization of interests in what they have fundamentally. Without a doubt, however, there is a differentiation of individual interests and group interests on the basis of the people's structural-occupational differences, which must be kept in mind. I have underscored all this in order to arrive at a problem that I feel is very important. What I have discussed shows the major significance of the institutional-organizational system that has been created, but we also have the fact that it is necessary to effectively implement the social-human values promoted in this system so that it can operate at the desired levels.

In the context of the political-ideological offensive of bourgeois conservatism, it is ever more frequently maintained in Western literature that at a historical level democracy should be inevitably linked to capitalism and that socialism should be, by its nature, incapable of achieving authentic democracy. These theses are being maintained with even more strength in the current campaign to resurrect bourgeois liberalism, which today states that outside of classical capitalism there are no authentic political values. In confronting such ideological positions, Marxist theory argues that just as socialism is a historical necessity to the same degree socialist democracy becomes a historical necessity for the achievement of political progress. And, I believe that here we can see in full historical action the law of the denial of negations that was also used in explaining political progress and which, on one

hand, helps us to show very well the inevitable historical limits of the types of previous democracies and, on the other hand, shows those traits that must characterize socialist democracy in the contemporary context.

Fred Mahler: In continuing what comrade Ovidiu Trasnea said regarding the powerful offensive of conservatism and of "rights" in the West which involve not only socialist democracy, but also the principles, concept and practice of democracy in general, I would like to point out in another area the parallel accentuation of certain radical orientations, including anarchy, which in the end also come to devalue and delegitimatize democracy, using, certainly, other arguments and other starting points in their analysis than contemporary thinking.

For the active presence of contemporary Marxism thought in the ideological front, in the defense of the ideas of democracy in general and especially in the promotion of the ideas of socialist democracy, I believe that it is very important to combat both the offensive of conservatism and "rights" and some of the aspects of Nihilist radicalism.

There has been talk here, and I am fully in agreement, that in the analysis of the problems of participative democracy we must focus more on effectiveness and the efficiency of this participative democracy. If we were to analyze the operation of the institutions only through the prism, let us say, of the legal aspect and not take into consideration aspects such as interests and individual and group needs, as has been noted here, or aspects of a moral and social order, it is clear that we would merely arrive at partial conclusions regarding the efficiency of participative democracy. If we were to put together, however, a complete set of indicators that were scientifically established regarding participation and participative behaviors, I believe that we would effectively have a more precise diagnosis of the phenomenon and, therefore, arrive at practical efficient conclusions.

University professor Valter Roman, president of the political science and sociology section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences: I want to refer to the correlation between democracy and technical-scientific progress. It would seem that between these terms there is a linear correlation. We must, however, quickly denounce this impression because there is no linear correlation between these two ideas, concepts or realities. In my opinion, one can state that a democratic form of social affairs is a guarantee or that it creates much greater possibilities for the development of science and technology and technology, and to this we must add that other factors also influence such a process.

Even without the forms of a higher democracy, nonetheless in the developed Western countries there are many achievements, scientific discoveries and contemporary techniques and technologies. And, we must give a response to this. It is clear that there are numerous other factors that determine this technical and scientific development, including: profit and the militarization of science and technology which, without a doubt, contribute to achievements in the field of military technology and, later, to the field of civilian technology. We must also keep in mind that progress in science and technology and their development take place by virtue of certain [illegible] but do not always have a direct tie to social-political conditions

Returning to our country and the socialist countries, we must say that the thesis is absolutely valid concerning the democratic forms of society which create infinitely greater opportunities for science and technology than undemocratic or quasidemocratic forms. The problem of democratic forms and participation in decisionmaking is, with regards to determining certain directions for research in field of science and technology, decisive for providing a framework appropriate to the unrestricted expression of new things.

Gheorghe Badrus: As our discussion has also shown, the problems of socialist democracy involve both aspects of practical activities and theoretical activities and problems of connections between the political and the social. Even our practices are an experiment in this field and we should regard it as a living activity that brings along elements that improve the concept itself of self-management, implementing direct democracy and so forth. This also shows the utility of certain such discussions and the need to continue research in this field.

We attempted to show here theoretical and practical problems that are closely tied to the subject of socialist democracy and to generalize from the specific experience of the different democratic political organism in our country and from the experiences of the different mass and public organizations that participate in the entire system of socialist democracy. Proposals both in the direction of studying certain theoretical aspects and in the direction of improving the system of our democracy and increasing its efficiency certainly present an interest, and they will have to be further studied in-depth through interdisciplinary studies on the aspects that were outlined here, as well as in general through the development of activities in the field of the social sciences.

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LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

Sam Nuyoma, Leader of SWAPO

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Sam Nuyoma, leader of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), by Andjelko Otovic of OSLOBODJENJE and Jasna Huskic of Radio Sarajevo: "It Is Our Obligation To Liberate Namibia"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Commemorating the 20th anniversary of nonalignment and following the course of preparations for the Seventh Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Countries, the editors of OSLOBODJENJE called upon a certain number of statesmen from the nonaligned countries to speak about current world events for the readers of OSLOBODJENJE. We are today publishing an interview with Sam Nuyoma, leader of SWAPO, with the journalists Andjelko Otovic of OSLOBODJENJE and Jasna Huskic of Radio Sarajevo.

OSLOBODJENJE: It has been 20 years since the First Conference of Nonaligned Countries was held in Belgrade. How do you assess this period from the standpoint of the movement's development? What actions of the nonaligned and which of their successes would you single out as the most important?

Sam Nuyoma: The nonalignment movement, which has been in existence for 20 years now as an anti-imperialist movement, has contributed greatly to the liberation of a large number of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, with the full-fledged support of the movement's member countries.

Yugoslavia, under the revolutionary leadership of Marshal Tito, has in particular given political and material aid to peoples fighting against colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination.

For that reason SWAPO, as a full-fledged member of the nonaligned movement, has striven to represent the movement as an inspiration for the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and as a contribution to world peace, detente and the social progress of humanity.

We Are Fighting for an Honorable Independence

OSLOBODJENJE: Relations in the world today are characterized by a further aggravation of relations between the blocs, intensification of the arms race, and the hotbeds of crisis show no signs of quieting down Where in your opinion is the place of the nonaligned movement in resolving t..ese acute problems?

Sam Nuyoma: The nonaligned movement remains an important element in the fight against imperialism and is continuing to contribute to world peace and to the relaxation of tension in international relations. We therefore appeal to those countries which are not members of the nonaligned movement to join the movement and strengthen it so that a stronger peace is maintained among all nations.

OSLOBODJENJE: How in that situation do you view Namibia and SWAPO as its sole legitimate representative?

Sam Nuyoma: The peoples of Namibia are fighting today with guns in their hands under the leadership of SWAPO against the most brutal regime of South Africa, which during World War II supported the Nazis and Hitler and sent its members to fight on their side.

The World Is Condemning the Crimes of the Racists

SWAPO, as a liberation movement, has its program of armed struggle to liberate Namibia. It is quite certain that we will liberate Namibia with the support of the people itself. Our forces will ultimately win freedom from colonialism, racism and fascism and will obtain the honorable independence for which our peoples have made so many sacrifices.

OSLOBODJENJE: What in your opinion is the role of the world community and especially of the nonaligned movement in a just conclusion of the liberation struggle of the people in southern Africa?

Sam Nuyoma: The world has condemned the torture, the destruction of families and the massacre of women and children in Namibia and the aggression which South Africa is now waging, the aggression against the people of Angola.

The question is why South Africa is waging aggression against Angola.

The reason is obvious:

"The government and people of Angola, led by President Santos, are fighting for the national liberation of Africa and that of Namibia in particular. The central committee of the party MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos have declared themselves in favor of the brothers and sisters in Namibia and are continuing to support them, as well as those in South Africa. That is why Angola deserves the political, material and diplomatic assistance of the world, and especially of the nonaligned movement. The peoples of South Africa are confronting the most reactionary regime, a regime without equal in Africa, in which their only right is to stay alive. We thus received with horror the news about eradication of families in the vicinity of

Capetown and other cities of South Africa. Three thousand of Africans were thrown into trucks and carried away to concentration camps.

This barbarism has been condemned.

We have appealed to the international community to continue to give tactical and material aid to the people of South Africa which is fighting against the fascist regime of Pretoria, fighting for its own freedom and independence. This kind of situation ought to upset international order. And that is why we think that precisely this moment in the struggle for the freedom of South Africa, and of Namibia in particular, ought to bring the world community and the nonaligned movement to condemn the aggression of the racist troops in South Africa and to support Angola in defense of its own integrity.

Our Relations With Yugoslavia Are Very Good

OSLOBODJENJE: We have been witnesses, in the recent past particularly, of conflicts in which certain nonaligned countries have been on opposing sides. What is your comment on that phenonenon?

Sam Nuyoma: There are problems among the member countries of the nonaligned movement, such as, for example, border conflicts, but this does not mean that the movement is getting weak. We have noticed that over these 20 years of the movement's existence the number of members has been increasing, and their role has become still more important.

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement is making tremendous efforts to build a new and more just international economic order. How do you look on that part of the activity of the nonaligned from the standpoint of Namibia's economic difficulties?

Sam Nuyoma: At this moment it is our obligation to liberate Namibia. And after the liberation we will be fighting for the economic status and rise of the standard of living of the masses. Certainly we will be cooperating with the member countries of the nonaligned movement, since we cannot speak about political independence if we are economically dependent on other countries.

We will continue to encourage a policy of mutual trust within the nonaligned movement so that every member country of the movement gains economic security and guarantees a certain standard of living for its people and a decent life for every man.

OSLOBODJENJE: You have said that there is no political emancipation without economic emancipation. What place do the national culture and education have in the future development of Namibia?

Sam Nuyoma: Aside from economic development, a country should support development of the national culture and educate the future generations. So that the country develops in an economic and political direction and does not depend on outside influences, the influence of the imperialist forces particularly.

OSLOBODJENJE: How do you evaluate the cooperation between Yugoslavia and Namibia?

Sam Nuyoma: Yugoslavia and Namibia will certainly continue to maintain good relations. The peoples of Namibia, led by SWAPO, have received significant material aid and political and diplomatic support from Yugoslavia. We already have excellent cooperation with the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

Kusumaatmadja Mochtar of Indonesia

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 82 p 10

[Interview with Kusumaatmadja Mochtar, Indonesian minister of foreign affairs, by Andjelko Otovic, OSLOBODJENJE reporter, in Djakarta: "A Political Factor in Achieving World Peace"; date not specified]

[Text] Question: Your country has from the very beginning been an active adherent of the policy of nonalignment. What in your opinion is the present situation within the movement itself, and what is its role in relaxation of tension in international relations?

Answer: It can be said of the nonaligned movement that even now it is fairly vigorous. In a phase in which the members of the movement are aware that they have done something constructive and that they have created a feeling of satisfaction, the external forces are trying to weaken the movement and its influence.

Given this situation, the question is whether nonalignment is still essential in the kind of world situation we have today, since even within the movement of the nonaligned itself there is factionalism and conflict of interest which could destroy it.

We must reexamine ourselves when we discuss the movement's goal. So that we confront contemporary reality, we must not forget the purpose of our mission in creating new approaches. It is not an unknown fact that many are attempting to impose their influence on the nonaligned movement or on individual members so that they would serve other forces.

We Need To Avoid Crises and Conflicts

If the nonaligned countries grasp the situation and at the same time the very reason for the movement's establishment, nonalignment would continue to be a dynamic factor and would not become a weapon for some particular interest, whatever it might be.

If the nonaligned movement passes through phases of insecurity, that is just one part of the process. All the members are obliged to make decisions on their own policy and to provide their own answers to the question of whether the mission and goal which the founders of the movement set down 20 years ago and passed on to the present generation can continue in the right way. If it is to have a constructive role in easing the current situation in international relations, the

nonaligned movement must first rally its own forces and overcome its own weaknesses so as to oppose attacks from outside. The role of nonalignment would be all the more significant if crises and conflicts between member countries, armed intervention and also the traps and wiles of the superpowers can be avoided.

In the situation in which we find ourselves at the moment, the nonaligned movement perhaps seems weak. Nevertheless, we will not bow down, but, on the contrary, we feel a still stronger urge to do more in spite of the augmented problems around us.

If we are to relieve the international situation of the moment, we must develop the moral force which the movement possesses by virtue of activities in other international fields in the search for true solutions and exert pressure on the superpowers to demonstrate their goodwill in the effort toward creation of a peaceful and stable world.

The Struggle for the New Economic Order

Question: In your opinion what is holding back and what is stimulating the strengthened importance and influence of nonalignment in the modern world?

Answer: We do not doubt the importance of the nonaligned movement and its usefulness in the future. As we know, the struggle of the nonaligned movement has been intensifying by phases. Beginning from the point when that struggle calmed down the Cold War between the Eastern and Western blocs, the movement then aided the liberation struggles of the country's of the colonies and contributed to their views and approaches in creating a new and more just world.

At the moment the attacks on the nonaligned movement within its own circle or as a result of the escalated tension in the world are not a bit easier, on the contrary.

Nonalignment has a great common goal which calls for changes which are necessary both to the advanced countries and to the developing countries. We can cite as an example the intensified effort to create a new world economic order. But the nonaligned movement has truly been confronted with problems in view of the disagreements that exist among its member countries.

Question: Even though differences in views and interests have been accepted as an historic inevitability, conflicts are occurring with increasing frequency, even conflicts between certain nonaligned countries, and there have even been armed interventions. How is it possible to eliminate these conflicts most effectively?

Answer: Effective means have not yet been found of resolving the various conflicts among members of the nonaligned movement. The best formula for the countries involved is to show extreme restraint and to translate the principles of nonalignment into deeds and behavior.

We Must Always Be Looking To the Future

Question: In its activity to date the nonaligned movement has also made an important contribution to the progress of the developing countries. As one of the founders of the nonaligned movement, but also the movement of developing countries, how do you evaluate the movement's achievements in this economic domain, and what do you expect of it in the future?

Answer: The plans which have been adopted at the recent meetings were very important. Indonesia will continue in the future to strive vigorously to make a contribution to carrying out the programs in effect. The specific activity in the field of development and cooperation among the members is an important element in confirming the movement itself. This does not mean that the nonaligned movement has rejected its function as a political factor in achieving world peace. With respect to that function, all forces should be vigilant so that the nonaligned movement does not change its course. But if in the past the nonaligned movement managed to help countries which were colonies in the process of attaining their independence, that independence and sovereignty should now be further affirmed so as to maintain the dignity of their people and should be developed through mutual cooperation.

The awareness of the ever greater potential of the nonaligned movement, a potential that is both qualitative and quantitative, makes its role more active and dynamic and maintains the movement's solidarity and unity.

Question: The great powers have exerted an evident pressure on the movement, and there have been actions aimed at diminishing the influence of the policy of nonalignment in international relations. In what way can the nonaligned countries most effectively resist the great powers?

Answer: Certain great powers, especially the colonially oriented Western countries, look upon the nonaligned countries as a group which threatens their interest. The anticolonial attitude displayed back in 1955 at the Bandung Conference and officially adopted later at the Belgrade Conference augmented the contradictions between the nonaligned countries and the West. It appears that the situation has changed. We see signs of that change in the final communique issued at the summit of the advanced countries in Ottawa. We should accept that position regardless of whether it is only pro forma or sincere in its nature.

What is important for the nonaligned movement is that we continue to look to the future and pursue the direction of the common goals, avoiding the narrow view, especially if we see that it is serving interests foreign to us, interests which are striving to distort the fundamental principles of the movement. It is our obligation to rid the West of doubt concerning the noble aims of the nonaligned movement.

The Importance of Regional Cooperation Is Great

Question: Relations between the advanced North and underdeveloped South are presenting some of the most important problems of the modern world. How can these problems be solved?

Answer: The unbalanced relations between the advanced and the developing countries must not be allowed to go on forever. An effort must be made to correct those relations, and the course of history also demands that. The forces which are opposing that course are causing chaos and danger harmful for everyone. We hope that the northern countries also fully understand this. The nonaligned movement will continue in the future to advocate talks along those lines, since it believes that the problems can be peacefully resolved.

Question: In what way can regional, that is, partial, cooperation speed up resolution of these global problems?

Answer: Our country believes in regional cooperation. Indonesia is thus cooperating with its neighboring countries: Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, within the ASEAN grouping. ASEAN has aided progress in the economic and social and cultural areas in its member countries. In the context of the larger problems, which also include North-South relations, the situation is more complex. Regional cooperation can help in resolving certain of these problems. But it is the political will of the northern countries themselves that is necessary for a final solution.

Interview With North Korean President

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Kim Il-song, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by OSLOBODJENJE: "The Military Blocs Are a Real Threat to Peace and Security in the World"; date and place not specified]

[Text] OSLOBODJENJE: Twenty years have passed since the First Conference of Nonaligned Countries was held in Belgrade. How do you evaluate that period from the standpoint of the movement's development?

Kim Il-song: The nonaligned movement is a progressive movement which opposes all forms of domination and subjugation, a movement which strives toward independence; it is a powerful revolutionary force of our time which is opposed to imperialism. In the time since the nonaligned movement emerged on the historical scene as an independent political force and developed into a broad international movement, the independent anti-imperialist forces have become considerably stronger, while the reactionary imperialist forces have become remarkably weaker.

Today the nonaligned movement is playing a large role in development of the situation in the world and in resolving international problems. Thanks to the common struggle of the nonaligned countries, various international issues have been resolved fully in accord with the demands and interests of the peoples of the new forces, and the old order, in which the great powers arbitrarily organize and control everything that happens in the world, is gradually breaking down. The nonaligned movement has made a great contribution to defending the sovereignty of peoples, to their liberation from all forms of domination and interference, subjugation and inequality, and it has contributed to protecting peace in the world and security against imperialist policy, aggression and war.

The Importance of Unity and Solidarity

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement today represents an important factor in international relations. What actions of the nonaligned do you regard as most important at this moment?

Kim Il-song: Now that the nonaligned movement has become broader and has developed into a world movement and now that its influence is growing with every passing day, the imperialists are continuing to organize their maneuvers, which are aimed at dividing and destroying the movement and bringing its members under its own protection and domination. The imperialist steps are aimed at driving a wedge, at driving the newly liberated countries apart, and at winning them over, and this has been causing many complicated problems in the movement, so that it is passing through certain trials which are not easy. Now the nonaligned movement confronts the difficult task of frustrating the attempts of the imperialists who are trying to drive wedges, separate the members and prevent the movement from gaining strength.

The unity and solidarity of the member countries are indispensable to the nonaligned movement's greater strength and development. Unity is the heart of the nonaligned movement, and it is the source of its strength. It is inseparable from the nonaligned movement, and without unity it cannot become stronger and develop. Only through the unity of its member countries can the nonaligned movement become a powerful force that is energetically advancing the history of humanity and embodying its noble goal and ideal.

What is most important in achieving the unity of the nonaligned movement is that all its member countries confidently preserve their independence. This is the basic ideal and foundation of the movement's unity. Only when all its members have a firm grasp on their independence can this movement achieve unity, and only a unity based on independence can be a firm and true unity.

The nonaligned countries must adhere firmly to an independent position and must resolutely oppose all types of outside interference. They dare not blindly follow other countries, nor act as their agents. They should respect the independence of other countries and they must not interfere in the internal affairs of others.

It is indispensable that the nonaligned countries strictly respect the movement's original principles and preserve their distinguishing features in the right way. They must not follow any bloc, nor allow themselves to be drawn into it. They must refrain from drawing outside forces into the nonaligned movement or from steering the movement toward one or the other bloc.

The Great Powers Are Increasingly Aggressive

OSLOBODJENJE: Relations in the world today are still characterized by exacerbation of relations between the blocs and by an intensification of the arms race, the hotbeds of crisis show no signs of cooling off. Where in your opinion is the place of the nonaligned movement in resolving these acute problems?

Kim Il-song: The international situation, taken as a whole, is very complicated and tense today. A fierce struggle is now being waged between the anti-imperialist forces of independence and the forces of domination on the international scene. The revolutionary people's struggle for independence and against imperialism is becoming stronger every day, while the steps which the great powers are taking toward aggression and plunder and to broaden their domination are becoming increasingly overt.

Frightened by the intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the progressive peoples of the world, the imperialists are making desperate efforts to maintain and expand their domination. They are resorting to constant armed interventions, subversive actions and destructive steps so as to halt the people's struggle for national independence and a new society. They are intensifying their unclean actions to put the newly liberated countries under their domination. First of all, they are strengthening their aggressive armed forces on a large scale and are unceasingly increasing the number of aggressive military bases in regions which have the largest resources and which have particular strategic importance and are conducting perfidious maneuvers so as to establish political, economic and political control over countries in those regions.

Because of the imperialist policy of aggression and war the international situation is extremely tense, and the danger of a new world war is growing with every passing day. Now the danger of a new world war has been aimed in the direction of Korea, the Near East, as well as Europe. All the peaceful peoples of the world should start a vigorous struggle so as to prevent the ever stronger imperialist policy of aggression and war and to defend peace and security in the world. Today no task is more important to the peaceful progressive peoples of the world than preventing a new world war. That is why it is necessary to defending peace and security in the world that all the anti-imperialist and independent forces, in firm unity, organize a vigorous movement for peace.

The progressive peaceful peoples of the world should resolutely protest the imperialist machinations of aggression and war, should brand them and deal a serious blow to imperialism wherever it extends its aggressive tentacles. In addition, the progressive countries of the world must not follow the imperialist policy of aggression and war, but must firmly maintain their independence. And that will decisively weaken the imperialist forces of aggression and isolate them to a still greater degree on the international scene, which will make them helpless and prevent them from waging a new world war.

To the end of preserving peace and protecting security in the world, an end must also be put to military growth and the arms race, and complete disarmament must be undertaken. The imperialist military growth and expansion in the arms field, which are becoming increasingly overt with every day, are still causing tension in the international situation to a great degree and are the cause of profound fears of peaceful people all over the world. All progressive people should strive to halt and prevent the growth of imperialist military strength and expansion of armament and should bring about complete disarmament.

Dissolution of all military blocs is very important to the defense of peace and security in the world. The military blocs are a constant factor threatening

peace and security in the world. It is most important that the peaceful peoples of the world strive to disband all the military blocs, including the aggressive blocs of the imperialists. When the military blocs are dissolved, aggressive military bases in other countries should be destroyed, and foreign troops withdrawn. We energetically demand that all foreign military bases be removed from South Korea and from many other parts of the world and that all aggressive troops be unconditionally withdrawn.

To the end of defending peace and security in the world, it is indispensable to commence a vigorous struggle to create atom-free zones, zones of peace in various regions of the world.

Nuclear weapons, which could inflict a catastrophe on humanity, have now been stockpiled in many parts of the world and are gradually taking over ever broader regions. If a new world war is to be averted and humanity saved from the horror of a nuclear war, nuclear tests, production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons must be banned throughout the world, and all those weapons should be destroyed. In many European countries and many other parts of the world a vigorous struggle is being waged to halt the production of neutron weapons and for the creation of atom-free zones, peace zones. This is very gratifying to us.

OSLOBODJENJE: We have been witnesses, recently especially, of conflicts in which even certain nonaligned countries have found themselves on opposing sides. What comment do you have to make on that phenomenon, and in your opinion is it possible to set up mechanisms which would prevent future conflicts between the member countries of the nonaligned movement?

Kim Il-song: All the nonaligned countries must put unity above all else and make vigorous efforts to consolidate the movement's unity. Under no circumstances dare they do anything that would be fateful to the unity of this movement, but, on the contrary, they must do everything that is of benefit to that unity.

The nonaligned countries must resolve disputes and differences between individual countries on the basis of the principle of unity. They dare not be in conflict with one another. Differences in opinions and disputes between the individual countries ought to be resolved by negotiations between the interested parties in their mutual national interest and to the benefit of nonalignment as a whole. This is the way of inflicting a blow on the imperialists, who are attempting to cause bad blood between the newly liberated countries and to fish in muddy waters; this is the way to successfully overcome the various obstacles which lie in front of nonalignment and the strength and unity and solidarity of this movement.

Joint Efforts To Emerge From Backwardness

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement is making tremendous efforts to build a new and more just international economic order [original reads "movement"]. As a distinguished statesman of a country which also has pressing economic problems, how do you look on this part of the activity of the nonaligned?

Kim Il-song: The nonaligned countries must not only be firmly united in the political sense, but also must collaborate closely together in the economic and technical fields.

Among the nonaligned countries there are developing countries which have valuable experience and progressive technology realized through the construction of a new life, and they possess wealth and resources. If they strengthen their economic and technical cooperation on the principle of mutual benefit, the newly liberated countries will be able to successfully solve the problem of food and other difficult and complicated issues they confront in building a new society, without seeking aid from the great powers. Consistently adhering to the principles of relying on their own resources, the nonaligned countries ought to become actively involved in mutual trade and cooperate closely with one another; in so doing those who possess the technology will make a contribution in that field, those which possess resources will contribute in that way, and those who possess financial resources will make their contribution.

Today the nonaligned countries and developing countries have established numerous organizations for economic and technical cooperation and are realizing their goals. They are holding international meetings which are useful to the development of science, education, culture and technology, and practical measures are adopted at those meetings. We believe that this is a wonderful thing.

If joint steps are taken against imperialism in firm political unity and close economic and technical cooperation under the banner of nonalignment, the nonaligned countries will be able to consolidate and quickly improve nonalignment and confidently perform their noble mission which has been conferred on them by the history of humanity and by the newly liberated peoples.

Three Principles in Development of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea

OSLOBODJENJE: Reliance on one'e own resources is one of the facts which has put the People's Democratic Republic of Korea among the countries with the fastest development in recent decades. The results achieved are truly impressive. How do you look upon that "reliance on one's own resources" in the context of the nonaligned movement, in the context of the developing countries which belong to the "Group of 77," can the Korean experience be applied on the international scene as well, what in this respect would be most worthwhile and what would be most effective?

Kim Il-song: DPR Korea has in the past year won a brilliant victory in socialist construction. We have thereby fully prepared ourselves for carrying out the tasks of a program which encompasses the magnificent goals of socialist construction affirmed at the party's sixth congress.

In 1981 our people achieved great success in all areas of politics, the economy and culture, resolutely carrying out three revolutions: ideological, technical and cultural--raising high the banner of the idea of /DYUCHE/ (full national independence and reliance on our own resources). In line with the party's policy, which gives priority to the ideological revolution, this revolution has been energetically carried out, and the result is that the intellectual and moral virtues of our working people have become still better. Today our entire working people, strongly armed with the revolutionary idea of our people, the idea of DYUCHE, is working industriously with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative to carry out the guidelines and policy affirmed by the

party. The entire people has close ties to the party; they represent one idea and one will, and the entire society is firmly united in the political and ideological sense. There is not a single force in the world which could break down the political and ideological unity of our society, which is based on the idea of DYUCHE.

In 1981 great progress was also achieved in building a socialist economy. Thanks to intensified revolutionary enthusiasm and energetic labor efforts of our working people, a large number of giant and monumental projects were built, and great progress was made in production in all sectors of the national economy, which has strengthened even more the country's economic foundations and markedly augmented industrial and agricultural output.

In development of socialist culture in the past year public education has developed still more, the overall cultural and technical level of our working people has risen considerably, and many exceptional literary and artistic works have been published. Above all our scientists and technicians have been energetically conducting scientific research based on the firm viewpoint of the idea of DYUCHE, and that has resulted in numerous scientific and technical innovations which have treat importance to development of the national economy.

All of the success which our people has achieved in the past year in socialist construction represents a confident guarantee for still faster progress and still greater victories.

Long-Term Goals in the Transformation of Society

OSLOBODJENJE: What are the principal characteristics of the present development of DPR Korea, and what are the principal tasks and plans for the future?

Kim Il-song: The historic task was set forth at the sixth party congress of developing the entire society on the basis of the idea of DYUCHE. This means that all its members become party members of the DYUCHE type and that all aspects of social life are transformed in the way demanded by the idea of DYUCHE, through which the independence of the working masses can be fully achieved.

This means revolutionization, the working class approach and intellectual edification of all members of society, and in this way we will ensure conquest of the ideological fortress of communism. This presupposes that the national economy become DYUCHE-oriented, modernized and based on science. Only when we have firmly guaranteed the independent character of the national economy and have consistently improved its technical equipment and production and management on a new scientific footing by introducing the DYUCHE orientation, modernization and scientific soundness of the national economy can we lay firm material and technical foundations of socialism and communism and adequately guarantee the working people an independent material and cultural life.

The sixth congress of our party set 10 long-range goals for socialist economic construction during the eighties in order to speed up the patterning of the entire society according to the idea of DYUCHE. The goals are for an annual output (in the near future) of 100 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, 120 million

tons of coal, 15 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of nonferrous metals, 20 million tons of cement, 7 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 1.5 billion meters of fabrics, 5 million tons of products from the sea, and 15 million tons of grain, as well as transforming 300,000 hectares of fallow land into cropland over the next 10 years. When these goals are achieved, our country will be among the world leaders with respect to economic progress and it will lay firm material and technical foundations which will reliably guarantee the complete victory of socialism, and the material and cultural level of our people will rise considerably. Now all our working people, with great hopes for the future and firm belief in triumph, are striving to achieve these magnificent long-range targets. On the basis of the great revolutionary enthusiasm and fighting spirit of our people I believe that these tasks will be performed even before the date which has been set.

Creation of a Korean Confederation Has Been Proposed

OSLOBODJENJE: Following World War II several countries were divided. Except for Korea, all the others have found a way to come closer in some degree. What are the prospects for this happening in Korea as well?

Kim Il-song: At the Sixth Congress of the Korean Workers Party in 1980 a new proposal was adopted for reunification of the country on the basis of three principles: independence, peaceful union and national unity.

This new proposal presupposes that the country would be reunified by establishing a confederative republic, by forming a unified national government under the condition the North and South recognize and tolerate the ideas and social systems which each of them has, and in the government there would be complete equality in the representation of the two sides, and both North and South would have regional autonomy, along with equal rights and obligations.

The democratic confederative republic of Korea should be a coalition of the North and South, whereby it would become a unified state representing the entire Korean people and as such would conduct an independent, democratic, neutral, nonaligned and peaceful policy.

The program for reunification of the country through formation of a democratic confederative republic of Korea is winning the full support and widespread approval of all people in the north and south of our country and of all Koreans living abroad and is eliciting a great deal of support among the peoples of the entire world. If the country is to be reunited in that way, the first thing is to liquidate the fascist military system that is ruling in South Korea, and democratize society.

In South Korea today there is an extremely brutal and shameless fascist government without precedent in history. The present South Korean military fascist clique, which came to power through the conspiracy and manipulation of the American imperialists, is trampling on the elementary democratic freedoms and rights of the people and is openly terrorizing the people by enacting various fascist laws and mobilizing an immense repressive machine.

So long as the military fascist regime which is brutally oppressing and killing patriotic people who demand democracy and reunification in South Korea remains in power, it is impossible to achieve national peace and unity and carry out any proposal for peaceful reunification of the country. All the fascist laws and repressive measures should be abrogated in South Korea, all parties should guarantee free political action to all public organizations and individuals, and the military fascist clique should be removed from power and a democratic government established.

One of the important tasks in order to achieve national reunification through formation of a democratic confederative republic of Korea has to do with relieving tension and eliminating the danger of war in our country.

Great Danger That War Will Break Out

In Korea at present large armed forces are confronting one another in the North and South, and between them there is the military demarcation line. On the pretext of fabricated "threats of an invasion from the North," the South Korean military fascist government purchased from the United States of America large quantities of the most up-to-date lethal weapons and modern military equipment and almost every day is organizing unrestrained military maneuvers in which American soldiers participate. Because of maneuvers which American imperialism and the South Korean military fascist government are conducting with a view to a new war, the situation in our country is now extremely tense and there is a danger that war will break out any moment. Under the circumstances of extreme tension and the intensified danger of war, the country cannot be peacefully reunited.

In order to relieve tension and remove the danger of war in our country, the Korean military agreement on the cease fire must be replaced by a peace treaty. We have long since been making ceaseless proposals to the United States, a signatory of the Korean military agreement on the cease fire, for its replacement by a peace treaty. However, the American authorities still have not accepted our reasonable proposal. Keeping South Korea under their occupation, they are constantly reinforcing their military support to the South Korean military fascists.

If the American authorities are the least bit interested in peace in Korea and in a peaceful solution of the Korean question, they should accept our fair proposal for conclusion of a peace treaty and withdraw their soldiers from South Korea as soon as possible.

To the end of independent and peaceful reunification of our country, it is indispensable to do away with the conspiracy of the American imperialists concerning "two Koreas" and put an end to their machinations whereby they interfere in our internal affairs.

The American imperialists have adopted creation of "two Koreas" as the overriding strategy of their policy toward Korea and are using every means at their disposal to achieve that. They are urging on the South Korean puppet clique toward national discord and confrontation between North and South, and are vigorously furthering that confrontation.

That is the principal obstacle to independent and peaceful reunification of our country.

The United States of America ought not to continue to conduct its policy of "two Koreas" any longer, a policy which opposes the aspirations of the entire Korean people and is contrary to the trend of our time; it ought to stop supporting the South Korean military fascist clique which is stifling democracy and is brutally oppressing the people and should refrain from its interference in the internal affairs of Korea. Were the United States to withdraw from South Korea and to stop standing in the way of reunification of Korea, our people would establish a democratic confederative republic of Korea and would reunite the country by peaceful means and through joint efforts.

Preconditions for the Country's Reunification

For the country to be reunified to form a democratic confederative republic of Korea, it is essentially important that a high degree of unity of the entire nation be achieved.

The proposal for establishing a democratic confederative republic of Korea is aimed at achieving national reunification. It therefore presupposes a high degree of unity in the entire nation. National reunification is unthinkable without cooperation and unity of the entire nation and the democratic confederative republic of Korea cannot be formed without a high level of national unity. All Koreans in the north, in the south and abroad need to be firmly united under the banner of national reunification, overcoming differences in ideology and social system, party allegiance and political views, and they should participate actively in forming a large national united front.

For the proposal to establish a democratic confederative republic of Korea to be realized as soon as possible, political parties and public organizations in the northern half of the republic jointly proposed in August 1981 that a conference be called on national reunification in which the participants would be representatives of the various parties and groupings and individuals from all social strata in the north, south and abroad who are striving for reunification of the country.

This proposal has been warmly supported by many groupings of our patriots within the country and abroad. The conference on reunification, when it is called, will seriously examine and resolve various problems related to national reunification, including the question of forming the democratic confederative republic of Korea.

There are still various obstacles on the road toward national reunification because of the opportunistic activity of the American imperialists and their puppets. However, our country will certainly be reunited thanks to the vigorous struggle of the entire Korean people and the favorable support and influences of the progressive peoples all over the world.

Tito Is the Founder of the Nonaligned Movement

OSLOBODJENJE: The peoples of Yugoslavia will never forget the cordiality with which Pyongyang and the people of DPR Korea greeted our President Tito during visit to your country. Among other things (for example, agreement on many questions in international relations, and indeed similarities in historic development) this memory is a guarantee of the further development of friendly relations between Korea and Yugoslavia. Please tell us how you look upon the present level of their development and the contribution to development of nonalignment?

Kim Il-song: We will strive to turn the Korean peninsula into an atom-free zone of peace and we will actively support the struggle of the peaceful peoples of the world to create such zones in Asia, in the Near East, in Africa, in Latin America and Europe. The Korean people loves peace devotedly. The struggle for a lasting peace and security in the world is a consistent policy of our party and our republic's government. As in the past, so in the future our party and the government of our republic will collaborate closely with the peoples of all progressive countries in the world, including the socialist and nonaligned countries, and will strive to halt and frustrate the imperialist policy of aggression and war and to preserve peace and security in the world.

I would use this occasion to express profound gratitude to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and to the government and people of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for their active support and encouragement in achieving the goal of reunification of our people.

Yugoslavia has long been a member of the nonaligned movement. Twenty years ago, when the world was divided into blocs and spheres of influence, and when the danger of a new world war was increasing all the time, the heads of state of many countries, including Yugoslavia, met in Belgrade, inspired by the noble idea of freedom and equality, peace and progress, and they raised the banner of nonalignment.

I would like to express high praise of the great contribution of Comrade Tito, the distinguished leader of the Yugoslav people, to the establishment, consolidation and development of nonalignment.

It is not such a long time since our country became a member of the nonaligned movement. However, since we have joined the ranks of that movement we have made all possible efforts to strengthen and develop it. Just as it has done in the past, so in the future DPR Korea will adhere to the principles and ideas of nonalignment and strive to strengthen and develop that movement.

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INCIDENTS OF ALBANIAN CHAUVINISM IN ULCINJ ASSAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1616, 20 Dec 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic and Slobodan Vukovic: "Seminar on Nationalism"]

[Text] The proposal by the Opstina Conference of the Ulcinj LCY to expel 10 educational workers from the LCY and to remove 9 from the schools, should be understood solely as the first step in straightening out relations with everyone "who was working for enemy causes" in this small city along the southern coast and who was "disturbing the traditional good relations between Albanians and Montenegrins." That this appraisal of the determination of the communists to do away with everything and everyone that has been damaging the relations between the two peoples is correct, can be proven by reports from meetings of the basic organizations in which, during the week just passed, communists put into effect the recommendation of the Opstina Conference of the LCY and even went a step further.

It is essential that Ulcinj communists, as well as the Albanians, have finally realized that solving the problem of those who work for Albanian nationalism and irredentism is something they themselves must do and that they alone should carry out this task. Previously for a long time everyone was silent and satisfied that Albanian nationalism would not get out of hand."

Dressed like the Flag

The announcement of the first proposal and other punishments thus is an official interruption of the long silence and a definitive severance with all those who have attacked the heritage of the revolution. A completely different question is whether the voice is being raised in time and whether the actions should have been taken somewhat earlier, thus perhaps avoiding certain difficulties.

The dimensions of the nationalistic and irredentist, counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo have been reflected, of course, in the policiatl situation in Ulcinj. Even when the events first started in the province, the manifest intentions of the enemy to transmit and expand its activities in an organized manner to all regions where Albanians live had emerged. "Emissaries" from Kosovo appeared, who on different occasions and in different situations worked to spread Albanian nationalism and irredentism. In addition, it should not for a moment be forgotten that the area in which Ulcinj is located has been subjected to the powerful influence of propaganda from neighboring Albania. This has mainly been through radio and television programs.

Before long, one could encounter in Ulcinj people dressed in red trousers, black shirts and white caps. This manner of dress symbolized the Albanian flag. In the schools, slogans of the enemy appeared, and songs of the Albanian Workers Party and Enver Hodza were heard. Incidents were also recorded in which citizens were not waited on in the markets who did not address the seller in the Albanian language. Students from the border town of Sukobin, who go to school in Kosovo, demanded that the conductor of the bus operating on that line speak Albanian.

A certain number of nationalists did not work publicly and it was not easy to uncover them. They avoided speaking in public but carried out their preferred activity of indoctrinating children in the schools where they worked. As a result of this type of education, for 10 years in schools in the village of Vladimir, Yugoslav hymns have not been heard!

As time passed, people began to show their disposition. As early as last fall they came out with clear political goals and determinations in the struggle against the LCY, its policies and socialistic self-management. Activities representing these positions appeared for the most part in the Brotherhood and Unity School Center in Ulcinj, the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir and in the local community of the border town Sukobin, where records of Albanian songs were played at high volume, as if to enable the "brothers" on the far side of the border to hear them.

No One against Nationalism

The culmination was the September seminar for educational workers who conduct classes in the schools in the Albanian language. The seminar, in the interests of the professional, pedagogic, ideological and political betterment of elementary and secondary school teachers, was organized by the Institute for the Advancement of Education in the Socialist Republic of Crna Gora.

The group of educational workers attempted to turn the Ulcinj seminar into a political demonstration of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Under the guise of professional discussions, Mehmet Barli, Tahir Perezaj, Bajram Redza, Mejrema Maraj, Mehdi Alaj and Redzep Kokaj stated theses that differed not at all from the claims of the counterrevolutionaries in Kosovo and from the anti-Yugoslav campaign from Albania. It disturbed them that Yugoslav writers are in the literary textbooks; they opposed the collaboration of the educational and pedagogic institutes of the Socialist Republic of Crna Gora with the corresponding institutes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. They are feverishly struggling with the use in school programs of subject matter, textbooks and literature that facilitates the nationalistic indoctrination of school-age youths and children. It was obvious that the declarations made at the Ulcinj seminar were prepared and organized painstakingly. This is also confirmed by the fact that some people utilized certain weaknesses in the use of language and the bilingual administration as part of the argument of professed danger to the Albanian nationality in the Socialist Republic of Crna Gora.

The seminar, however, as planned, was supposed to be occupied with a program of work in the schools. Instead, questions began to fly fast and furiously: Did the Montenegrins really free Ulcinj from the Turks? Why the Albanian language, as a required subject, is not studied in all departments where classes are held in

Serbo-Croatian? Why did they not remove the two letters "ic" from the last names of all Albanians forever, with one decision at the Yugoslav level, but instead everyone must change their last names themselves? Will the Albanian flag also fly in the Bar region?

However, as emphasized at the meeting of the Opstina Committee of the Ulcinj LCY, remarkably almost no one of the 150 participants in the seminar reacted to, or opposed, the nationalistic discussions and attacks. In stead of decisive opposition, nationalists were allowed to be presented as defenders and saviors of the Albanian nationality in the Ulcinj Opstina. Undoubtedly, the political situation in some schools and local communities has been disturbed. Part of the organization and membership of the LCY demonstrated opportunism, indecisiveness and unsatisfactory militancy. Now some members of the LCY have "humbled themselves" with the excuse that they allegedly did not recognize the nationalists. They now condemn these persons, "if it was them"

The True Face of Nationalism

In order that these questions, which, it must be freely admitted, have the ring of a certain belated echo of nationalism and irredentism, not remain only a matter of "verbal output," many people, above all certain members of the LCY from the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir and the Sukobin local community, have taken some actions just a few days after the seminar. In the Vladimir school, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary celebration of the Mirko Srzentic Library, a number in Serbo-Croatian was deleted from the cultural and artistic program and the celebration was not begun with Yugoslav hymns. In the local community in Sukobin, during the meeting of the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Worker's Party, records were played with songs glorifiying the Albanian party and Enver Hodza.

In all these dishonorable efforts, the main discussions have been led by the educational workers. The majority of them are members of the LCY, and some are members of the Opstina Conference and the Opstina Committee of the LCY. Looking back at the conduct of these educational workers, the old communist, Redzep Spahic, said that the young educational workers had not, in truth, participated in our revolution, when brotherhood and unity had been tarnished but they had nevertheless sufficient opportunity to study its history. Then speaking about the recent seminar, he said that it is good that the nationalists showed their true face in it. What would happen, asked Redzep Spahic, if we experienced agression? How would those who so loudly sing to Enver Hodza of Albania behave then?

Marko Kaludjerovic, president of the Parliament of the Ulcinj Opstina, motioned that in the city in which he is the leader, there has been a long silence about the weaknesses. Then he stressed that more than 150 educational workers participated in the seminar, of which over 100 were LCY members. He was stunned that no one reacted or responded to the questions posed but only a few people left the auditorium of the Brotherhood and Unity School Center.

Response of the Communists

Delegates of the Opstina Conference of the LCY, at a meeting held at the end of last week, made some decisions and many more proposals, which were sent to the basic organizations of the LCY and other organizations in order to take measures against the advocates of nationalism and irredentism.

It was decided that the LCY basic organization in the local Community of Sukobin be dismissed and that the responsibility of each member be established. In addition, the conference expelled from membership a teacher from the Bosko Strugar Elementary School in Ulcinj, Petar Mirdita, and proposed to the LCY basic organization of the school that he be expelled from the LCY. A teacher from the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir, Kasem Ceka, was expelled from membership in the Opstina Conference and the Opstina Committee of the LCY. It was proposed to the basic organization in the school that a reprimand be given to Ceka; the self-management organs of the local community, of which he is president, were asked to begin proceedings to replace him. The reason for these measures against Mirdita and Ceka is their extreme opportunism in reaction to the outpouring of nationalism at the seminar of educational workers, held at the end of September, in which a group of educational workers attempted to turn the meeting into a demonstration of Albanian nationalism. For the same reasons, it was proposed to the Opstina Conference of the SAWPY to make a decision concerning the cessation of the mandate of Sumi Kokaj in the Republic Conference of the SAWPY, the Opstina Conference of SAWPY and the presidency of the Opstina Conference of SAWPY.

Because of open nationalistic behavior at the seminar of educational workers, the Opstina Conference of the LCY proposed to the LCY basic organization of the Brotherhood and Unity School Center that Tahir Perezaj, Bajram Redza and Mejrema Maraj be expelled from their ranks, as well as Cazim Redza for his behavior at the secretariat of the LCY basic organization. The conference also proposed to the self-management organs of the school center that these four be removed from the staff, as well as Mehmed Barli, who is not an LCY member.

Because of passive behavior, the director, Bahrija Mila, and his assistant, Rajko Pavicevic, are to assume the responsibility for the situation at the school center. It was proposed to the basic organization of the center that these two be reprimanded, and to the self-management organs that proceedings be instituted to dismiss them from their duties.

An echo of irredentism at the seminar also characterized the reports of some educational workers at the Bedri Elezara Elementary School in Vladimir. Because of this, it was proposed to the LCY basic organization in this school that Mehdi Alaj and Redzep Kokaj be expelled from their ranks. The same proposal was also sent for the secretary of the school, Avni Kurti, as well as for the acting director, Idriz Kalaba. It was proposed to the self-management organs of the school in Vladimir that Alaj, Kokaj and Kalaba be removed from the staff. The proposal for removal from the staff was also sent for the teacher Kadri Dodaj. Also, it was proposed that confidence in the secretariat of the LCY basic organization of the Bedri Elezara School has been withdrawn and reprimands given to all members of the secretariat. It was proposed to the LCY basic oragnization that, in addition to Petar Mirdita, Deda Zadrima be expelled from the Bosko Strugar Elementary School and that Arslana Bisaja be reprimanded.

It was proposed to the LCY basic organization of the Marko Napulovic Elementary School in Stoj that Zefi Mirditi, Vati Elezovic, Rozi Pejovic, Dodi Ali and Sabana Cekaja be reprimanded because of opportunistic conduct during September.

Criticism was directed to the secretariat of the LCY basic organization at the Marshall Tito Elementary School by the conference because of indecisiveness in dealing with the nationalistic occurrences.

In Ulcinj, it was determined, therefore, that the clash with the nationalists is a most important problem. The LCY opstina organization demonstrated decisiveness and unity in exposing the nationalistic phenomena and their advocates. This is only part of the task before them. As Comrade Mijat Sukovic, a member of the Central Committee of the LCY who took part in the work of the meeting of the Opstina Conference of the Ulcinj LCY, emphasized, the actions still to come will not be easy. To fulfill them will require knowledge, skill and revolutionary acuity. SAWPY, the League of Socialist Youth, the trade union--all must be included in this effort. It is necessary to organize and develop the still broader and more decisive activity of the LCY among working people, citizens and youth, in order to discuss, expose and incapacitate enemy activity.

It is, therefore, not too late. It might be said, in truth, that we should waste no time.

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CRITIQUES OF DEDIJER'S LATEST BOOK REVIEWED

Arguments Over History

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1620, 17 Jan 82 pp 19-22

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "'Novi prilozi ...' Under Fire"]

[Text] If a book is measured by its commercial success or by the number of copies sold, and probably also by the number of readers, Dedijer's "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to a Biography of Josip Broz Tito], Vol 2, would be the book of the year.

On the eve of the New Year the book had "dried up" in certain Belgrade bookstores, and certain customers had the impression that it had been withdrawn, which is not the case.

Milan Polovina, chief of the Belgrade branch office of Mladost, the Zagreb publishing house which is the book s copublisher and distributor, told NIN that the shortage around New Year's was caused by the unexpected demand--about 2,000 copies were sold in a day or two--and that now the book is being sold normally. I do not recall, he said, when any book of this kind has sold like this.

Of the total printing of 70,000 copies Belgrade has so far consumed 8,000 on subscription and as many again in bookstores.

About the Facts

But aside from the yardstick of the number of copies sold, the book is also subject to other standards of measurement. On several occasions Dedijer has publicly called for suggestions and unsparing criticism. Well, it can be said that he has got what he asked for. In some 50 notices, reviews, statements, clarifications, articles, interviews and letters to the editor gathered as documentation for this article and published in some 15 daily newspapers, weeklies, other periodicals and TV programs, the unfavorable judgments far exceeded the favorable or "mixed" reviews.

It is best to begin with Dedijer's attitude toward the facts. Professor Julijana Vrcinac criticized Dedijer (in POLITIKA) for not respecting one of the main principles of historical science: checking every fact.

It follows from Dedijer's interpretation of one conversation with Tito that Tito--pursuant to a directive of Manuil'skiy (who headed the Comintern in the late thirties): attack fascism regardless of the Soviet-German pact--issued (wrote) a proclamation against the Anschluss (Germany's annexation of Austria). However, Manuil'skiy's directive dates from September 1939, and the proclamation against the Anschluss is known to have been published in March 1938!

"Tito made history," Professor Vrcinac says. "His life was so rich that he could not be expected to remember all the dates. Yet it is the duty of the man who regards himself as Tito's biographer or as a historian to check when things really happened."

According to Dedijer, in August 1938 Tito was waiting to be admitted to the building of the Comintern in Moscow. While he was waiting, they received Petko Miletic. In August 1938 Miletic was still in prison in Sremska Mitrovica!

According to ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, Tempo reproached Dedijer for trying to leave the impression that he attended the historic meeting at the Ribnikar villa on 4 July 1941. It is a matter of precise record who attended, Tempo says. "Vladimir Dedijer was standing watch in front of the villa and nothing more."

In a New Year's interview which Vladimir Bakaric gave to Marinko Gruic for START, VJESNIK AND VECERNJI LIST, he answered one question about Dedijer's book. Focusing on Chapter II, entitled "The Great Powers and the Partition of Yugoslavia," Bakaric said that it is based on prejudice. The bias consists of the judgment that the Soviet Union wanted to partition Yugoslavia--which is not so, at least not at that time, and in the assessment of the "roots of nationalism in the party, among Croatian communists."

"The real basis of both prejudices is a deep-seated unitarianism," Bakaric said.

He goes on to explain (in paraphrase) that the Comintern and Soviet Union were interested in defending the first country of socialism, and the question of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity was completely secondary for them. What Kopinic did in 1941 in Croatia (accusations against certain of the most prestigious party leaders, the attempt to remove the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia and the like--Z. S.) was obviously his personal initiative, and not an initiative of the Comintern and the Soviets. Dedijer attempts to take Gebrang as an example in demonstrating those alleged roots of separatism. The base of the party in Croatia was Yugoslavia's federal system. "So: never separatism and never nationalism."

"Nationalism did at times have some effect on the party in Croatia, and that on several occasions," Bakaric said, "but the 'root' of this did not lie in the Croatian communist, but outside it. And what need did they have for Gebrang? Well, Gebrang was necessary in order to show that this was a constant problem."

Bakaric went on to say: "I have been aware of this prejudice of Dedijer's both about the Croats and about the Soviet Union from way back, and I know that there is no point in trying to explain anything to him in this case, since this cannot be explained to him. He did something contemptible to me, something outright

contemptible, when he put in my mouth the supposition that Rankovic was eavesdropping on Tito in collusion with Comrade Jovanka Broz. And NIN turned that supposition into a hypothesis. So it more or less linked me to some kind of investigation, though in the first sentence of our interview I said at once that I know nothing about that matter.... I never even had such a thought, nor such a supposition, nor was I concerned about it at all, and now he has attempted to get me into a mess."

Political Pornography

In another interview (with the newspaper INTERVJU) Gojko Nikolis, member of the academy, said in part: "It seems to me that Dedijer's book is the most sensational of all which have appeared in our time and on our soil. It is sensational for the chaotic nature of its structure and methodology, for its pseudoscholarship because of the elements of political pornography, but also because of certain challenges which historians will have to answer at some point.... Dedijer's book really offers quite a few tidbits for coffeehouse gossipers, but in my belief this can only be a momentary situation, one which can be successfully overcome only with the truth. Nothing worse could be imagined at this moment than for the archives to be sealed and historians to be silenced. As we know, shocks can also be therapeutic."

The writer Miodrag Bulatovic issued one of the rare judgments of Dedijer's book which have been unreservedly favorable: "Dedijer has made the stage broader, has torn down many of the wings: history is taking place not in a little theater, but in an amphitheater, in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] Stadium!"

In the Zagreb paper OKO Vlado Ostric says of Dedijer that "he very often enters into the most frank and delicate questions without distinguishing the essential and inessential, heedless of the lack of sound sources, he takes up anything as a source, even to the level of personal retaliation and revenge after the fact, of storytelling and stories at secondhand, he is guided by his personal inclinations and aversions concerning both the dead and the living, he does not stop before the domain of intimate and private life, he does not allow himself to be hindered by the usual human considerations toward anyone, he does not even spare Tito or his family or his relatives, but, it must be admitted, he is consistent, he does not spare himself nor his own family...."

With respect to Dedijer's statements from the rostrum of the workers' university in Sabotica, when he sharply criticized "various history institutes which write so-called contemporary history," and referred to historians as toadies, Pero Damjanovic, editor in chief of the "Sabrana djela" [Collected Works] of Josip Broz Tito, reacted, summing up his reproaches of Dedijer's book in a series of questions, of which these are some:

"What is the author's attitude toward his sources and what range of things are credited as historical sources?

"Is the content and thrust of testimony by participants in and witnesses of historical events always maintained undistorted in the book?

"Is it allowed to include insinuations, half-truths, and even street gossip in a book said to be a 'contribution to history'?

"How authentic is the picture given of Tito, of his collaborators, of his fellow fighters and of our revolution?

"Did the author, as he often says, receive a mandate to write a book with this content, with this conception and at this level?"

Even for a reader who is not a historian it is not difficult to find in this book, which in the physical sense is a monster weighing 2 kilograms and 100 grams without the jacket (I measured it myself), elements of what Damjanovic and the other critics are talking about. "A person in whom I have confidence ... told me...," Dedijer writes, that "an impression of the lock" was made "for a key" to open Tito's personal safe containing the most confidential documents.

There is hardly place for such "sources" in a book which makes claim to being history. Dedijer gives the remark "about notes from the Brioni Plenum being found in Jovanka Budisavljevic's washing machine," without even the "someone told me" with which such things are supported in conversation.

The more attentive reader may suspect--from the level of scrupulousness in use of sources--what sentiments Dedijer feels toward the person whom those sources describe.

"Mikica, You Pig!"

Many passages--Dedijer's own text, or passages taken from other people--scattered in this book sometimes make interesting material as journalism, essay or history, but they have nothing to do with Tito's biography.

No small part of the public reactions to "Novi prilozi ..." are concerned with what might be called the "garnishing": Is Dedijer Tito's official biographer, what are his personal ethics, did he put documents obtained for one purpose to some other purpose, and so on? The lowest point of this context is in the emphasis which some people put on Dedijer's stay abroad, after 1954, when he was expelled from the League of Communists, as though that stay disqualifies him as a historian and biographer!

[illegible] Jankovic, a member of the party since 1932, accuses Dedijer in KOMUNIST of [illegible] committed the greatest slander of the revolution because of the episode with the Partisan delegation which was negotiating with the Germans about exchange of prisoners and tried to get a certain tactical respite for the Partisans in the eve of the most difficult trials of our entire war. But this episode had already been brought to light in our country by J. Tomasevic in his book "Cetnici u drugom svetskom ratu" [The Chetniks in World War II] several years ahead of Dedijer.

[illegible], Ivica Racan, chairman of the Committee for Commemorating Tito's Life [illegible] in Croatia, articulates his view quite differently: "My generation [illegible] have an extremely high opinion of Dedijer, and many of us gained knowledge

about our revolution from his early books. No one is overjoyed with what Dedijer has gotten into and what is now happening to him. Whether he was aware of it or not, all of this has its deeper background, since there are those who want to win as many cheap points as possible in an ideological and political sense, taking advantage of Dedijer's situation." (Taken from POLITIKA)

The historian Milovan Dzelebdzic has been firing heavy guns at Dedijer in several installments in VECERNJE NOVOSTI: "Dedijer has patiently waited for his 5 minutes in order to show his true faith and confirm that he never renounced certain positions of Milovan Djilas, who until yesterday was his close friend and is a renegade of the communist movement. Dedijer has been waiting for his chance to take revenge for 1954, when he was expelled from the LCY and from the School of Philosophy and after which, at his own wish, he spent several years abroad."

After this kind of personal moral and political discrediting, the argument is developed that Dedijer appropriated someone else's work (that of Dzelebdzic and his colleagues; the matter concerns mainly documents which Dedijer published in the concluding section of the book, where they take up more than 200 pages). Dzelebdzic says that Dedijer offered him 20 million old dinars in damages; "he attempted to buy my silence and thus to exclude my property right as an author," while he, Dzelebdzic, categorically refused.

And now who is taking revenge on whom?!

To be sure, it is not easy to understand how one can claim the right of authorship of historical documents. This question has in fact been put in an interview which Milovan Bosic, chief of the archives of the LCY Central Committee, gave to VECERNJE NOVOSTI:

"I understand the chagrin of the comrades who have been preparing the 'Sabrana djela' of Comrade Tito, since their long years of work to complete the collection of documents, to interpret new concepts, and to comment has been taken over, without that being mentioned in the book--what is more, these people, whose behavior has been quite correct, are pelted with insults. But they also go to an irrational extreme and often say 'he took my documents,' 'he took my material,' and thus come close to the behavior of a huckster in the style of 'my archives,' 'my newly discovered material,' ... when all of this has long been in the archives, registered, sorted and accessible to anyone."

An approach which might be referred to as "hit the man, ignore the book" probably reached its climax in "kernels" in the periodical SVIJET, published in Sarajevo. The "kernel" which was a pearl was served as the first course of an article about the billions which Dedijer is getting for his books; it went like this: "Belgrade 1951. Stadium of the Yugoslav Army, soccer match between Yugoslavia and Sweden. Score tied at halftime 1:1. Vladimir Dedijer, director of BORBA and president of the Yugoslav Soccer Federation, strode with giant steps toward the press box and shouted to Ljubisa Vukadinovic:

"'Ljubisa, I have an idea!'

"'Let's hear it, Comrade Vlado!'

"'For tomorrow's headline in POLITIKA to be "Mikica, You Pig."'"

Unacceptable Alibi

"Vukadinovic managed a timid smile. Mikica Arsenijevic was at that time the captain of the national all-star team."

SVIJET does not say who it was that recalled the incident in the stadium in 1951 unless it is Dzavid Husic, whose name appears under "Kernels." This kind of unattributed recollection puts no obligation on anyone. And without going through the old files, relying on common sense, you can bet 10 to 1 that no title like that saw the light of day in POLITIKA in 1951. What is more, neither before that nor afterward. Just as Dedijer has here and there used unattributed recollections, it seems now that the author of "Kernels" has done the same, just a bit more crudely.

The author of the present article had occasion to meet Dedijer at approximately that time (Dubrovnik Chess Tournament in 1950), and he can state that Dedijer was neither soft nor sweet in his dealings with the small fry of the newspaper world at that place and time. His style was probably taken from the "Bolshevik model": hard, quick tempered, peremptory, urgent, that of a man with a mission of the party and the power to carry it out. Perhaps Dedijer was even harsher than that style. However, neither Vladimir Dedijer's personality, nor his private manners, nor various actions of his and his life, nor his political and party past are the occasion or topic of the current public debate. Incidentally, those things were presumably cleared up before the archives of confidential documents were opened to Dedijer by an order issued from the highest places. In any case the discussion is about "Novi prilozi...," and not about turns of destiny in the author's life.

How is one to account for this need to discredit the book by slinging mud at the author, when in and of itself it abounds in material for devastating criticism? Is it possible that this substitution of the target will fail to discourage potential authors of critical, but better books about the recent past?

The title of the book, in which the emphasis is on the word "contributions" was probably chosen so as to answer in advance criticism about the incompleteness, indefinitiveness and unpolished state of a huge work. Not, then, a biography, but "contributions for a biography," which would mean that more contributions are yet to be made, and supposedly later, out of that mass of contributions, the true biography would be synthesized, along with many interpretations, condensations and culling.

The critics have not accepted this alibi of Dedijer's. "Tito Cannot Be Written About in This Way," is the title of an article in a Rijeka newspaper written by Petar Strcic, director of the Croatian Archives.

Dedijer used a similar method--mixing history and journalism--three decades ago in preparing his first "Prilozi za Titovu biografiju" [Contributions to Tito's Biography], and they were highly praised both then and recently, when they were reprinted.

Dedijer has in the meantime enriched his experience as a historian, has acquired new knowledge, has had access afforded very few others to documents and to people who had some testimony to present. Nevertheless, "Novi prilozi...," with some exceptions, has been given bad marks.

What happened? Did Dedijer run out of strength, assistance, determination and time to check many things out, to compare, to investigate, to reject, to do a great deal more work on this before presenting it to the public; has he become too impatient with the years?

Slavko Goldstayn, director of Libera, once told this reporter that it was easy for a publisher to take a certain risk, even a political risk, if the book was good. Then it would defend itself. In that context Dedijer's book is not defending itself well, i.e., it is defending itself primarily with the size of the printing, the number of readers. But that brings up the objection that (some of) its content is "at the street gossip level," of interest only to a blase and snobbish public, pathologically desirous of sensation at all costs (P. Strpic).

Sensitive Points

What might be defended on this occasion is the right to make a mistake, to write a bad book, and also the right to study even the most sensitive points of very recent history. Kopinic and Kerestinec. "Retortion" (an expression of the time for "leftward deviation") and so many other things.

There remains the most delicate question of this story. When thousands of people in a month or two, in the midst of this rise in the cost of living and decline in the standard of living, have reached deep into their pockets to buy a book that costs 1,400 dinars, that fact cannot be explained away merely by the book's gabfests, nor merely by the clamorous advertising campaign. Nor can the phenomenon be described and written off merely as unwholesome petty bourgeois relishing of gossip and someone else's private affairs, though all of that has also come to be part of this book seller's event which is out of the ordinary.

In one of the first reviews of "Novi prilozi...," carried over Belgrade television, Branislav Milosevic tries to figure out the reason for the success of Dedijer's books with the public, and he says that, first, these are "topics of fateful importance to the people of this country (the revolution, the break with the Cominform, Tito's career)," and then the acute journalist's sense "of what is interesting in every topic, regardless of its seriousness and its specific historical weight."

"In Dedijer's interpretation history can never be boring: whenever the danger of boredom arises, Dedijer will bring in some detail or some turn which will open up to the reader a broad field of associations and bold suppositions; if that is not enough, he will enter into an interesting digression about the participants in the various events which if nothing else will show that history has always and everywhere been made by people of flesh and blood and not by spokesmen of great ideas in human form."

The Other Side of the Rose-Colored Selection

There is also something else to be added. Works about our quite recent past and its protagonists, especially those popular genres--literature, the film and memoirs--have been rose colored, some less some more. Least of all that professional book which is of interest to a quite narrow group of specialists, and most of all that book which is for mass consumption.

On the other side of the facts which have been chosen through rose-colored glasses, the mature consumer of such works may feel an information gap which, like every vacuum, seeks to be filled rapidly. Is it not the case, then, of Dedijer's book, that it has been simply sucked up by that vacuum? And is not one of the reasons why it is so understated, so imprecise, so indelicate and in places so untruthful precisely that Dedijer was led on more by his journalist's nose than by the calling and temperament of a historian--to fill the vacuum as soon as the occasion presented itself? It would have been worthwhile to work several more years on this material.

It seems that a book in which it is easier to count the faults than to prove the virtues has reached the public at large before possible better books and more complete books. We should expect that those future books will gradually displace or replace it.

Reader's Response

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1621, 24 Jan 82 pp 3, 6

[Letter to the editor by Milorad Vucelic in response to the article "[redacted] prilozi ...' Under Fire," NIN, No 1620: "Criticism of the Criticism"]

[Text] It is certain that the second volume of Vladimir Dedijer's book "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" abounds in oversights, certain inaccuracies and faults, and that diverse critical reproaches can be addressed to it. In any case it is invaluable to have well-documented public critical discussion of any public matter. But it seems that there is less and less of that.

Many of our prestigious newspapers carried parts of Dedijer's book with a great deal of advertising and ceremony just before it came out and afterward. And now, supposedly in order to salve their guilty consciences, some of them have been racing each other in an offensive which almost resembles a manhunt against this book and other of Dedijer's books.

What reproaches are not leveled against Dedijer: that he was a dissident, that he lies about when and why he visited Tito, that he has published existing historical documents which are treated as though they were not for publication (!), and in addition certain specialists had appropriated them and looked upon them as their own work (!), and that the foreign press is carrying it.... The culmination of these attacks was undoubtedly achieved with Dusan Biber's statement (over television) on BORBA's Round Table. With unambiguous hatred Biber spoke lightly about Dedijer's voice, which might well have been sobbing concerning the

death of his wife Olga, or, more accurately, her being wounded and dying. This scene at the same time is one of the most embarrassing which has ever been see on our television.

In all of this there is complete neglect of the fact that Dedijer's book, for all its faults, has brought to light much of what was kept silent or not spoken about for years, what was skipped over, what was evaded. Judging by Dedijer's critics, they all knew all these things, they simply did not want to say them. It appears that many of them have been altogether neglecting the question: why didn't they say all this which they knew so well (and better, they say, than Dedijer)? Is it the historian's duty to track down the facts and to present them to the public, or to see to preserving the people's innocence? The writing of history does not seem to us a particularly suitable means of artificially preserving a people's innocence, but rather, much rather, a suitable instrument for building up its self-awareness.

Perhaps the enmity of Dedijer's critics also comes from the fact that he has been among the first to write and publish what they already knew, but did not dare or were unable to write down and to say? Why, then, do they not tell us what it was that prevented them from making their knowledge public?

What, just to take an example, did our historians do so that the coming generations would know something more about Kerestinec and the tragedy which took place in and around it? Only with Dedijer's book do Tito's words of reproach spoken in 1971 become clearer:

"... And where is the flower of your Croatian intelligentsia, those who died in Jasenovac and elsewhere? What have you done so that something more is known about them? Nothing."

It is quite certain that Dedijer's concept of the writing of history is not without many things which are arbitrary, unfair, unacceptable, inclusion of private details of limited historical range, but which have a piquant flavor, and so on. For that reason, and for many other reasons, he deserves a sound and documented criticism.

But if Dedijer's views should and must be subjected to criticism, then the points of departure of certain of his critics cannot be exempted from critical inquiry either. Those which are aimed at glossing over and embellishing the past, which smack of envy and enmity. This approach to history can perhaps serve the pragmatic moment and utilitarian needs for criticism, but there is no way in which it can contribute in the long run to the writing of history and to increased interest in it. Not only is it incapable of a contribution; it is simply no longer possible to look on the function of history in that way.

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JOURNALIST RESPONDS SATIRICALLY TO CRITICISM OF MEDIA

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1621, 24 Jan 82 pp 6-7

[Letter to the editor by Vasko Ivanovic: "A Newsman's Self-Criticism"]

[Text] Last year there was quite a bit of criticism of newsmen and journalism. It is time that we newsmen also think things over well, with our own heads, of course, and admit: some of the criticism of our work by certain of the comrades has been quite justified.

One such piece of criticism states that we have often portrayed trends and events last year one-sidedly. However much this might offend the newsman's well-known amour-propre, we have to honor the criticism concerning one-sidedness. Take, for example, the way we portrayed those meetings of the ABCD Committee at which critical remarks were made about our work.

Following the meeting the comrades told us: the meeting was held at the right moment, the discussion was constructive, the conclusions will have far-reaching importance.

And what do we do?

We write that the meeting was held at the right moment, that the discussion was constructive and that the conclusions.... We write it and we sign it. In the meantime, wonder of wonders, it retracts some of those conclusions, or, no one even attempts to carry them out. New meetings are held. We asked the comrades: What do you want us to write about your meeting? Now that we have asked them, they tell us. in such-and-such a way. And we write it in such-and-such a way. About the meeting and about them. Always on such occasions we ask one and always the same side, and we feel the criticism concerning our one-sidedness to be proven.

At another, but also important, meeting, some comrade, also important, says: "The papers are writing unanalytically about personnel policy." How true that criticism is! We will demonstrate this with an example. The newspapers carry the news "a secretary of the primary organization of the League of Communists has been elected in...." We do not write about how he was elected. And this is how he was elected: the party members in the primary organizations "note down the

candidates," that is, they make a list of those they want to see in their secretariat. But they cannot elect them. Not until the opstina committee of the League of Communists confirms their candidacy. Which means that that news item ought to run like this: "The primary organization of the League of Communists was permitted to elect a secretariat."

Or, a third piece of criticism: "There are cases of treatment according to protocol on the pages devoted to foreign policy."

That criticism is just as sound as the previous ones, and we will prove it with examples.

"Comrade so-and-so," the newspapers report, "has departed by special airplane with his coworkers on a friendly visit to a country (countries)...." In the next item the newspaperman reports that the comrade has landed at the airport of that friendly country. For a time thereafter there is no news. This is the time which the newsmen spend sitting on the landscaped grounds of the official residence, and then finally they report that the talks have reached a successful conclusion. The next items states that the comrade has landed back at Surcin Airport. We newsmen ask that comrade: "How do you evaluate the visit?"

"Our visit was very successful not only for the relations of our two countries, but even much more broadly. We are convinced that the results of the talks have contributed to cooperation of our two countries in both the political and economic spheres...." And that is what we write. Some time passes, and then the news arrives that we have a deficit in trade with that country....

"The newspapers often write in an old-fashioned way about party life," runs the next criticism. The man has spoken the real truth. We can also illustrate this with an example.

The central committee writes a letter from time to time about events in our country or about certain important international events to us members of the League of Communists in the primary organizations. Such-and-such has happened, our assessment is such-and-such, inform members of the League of Communists about this.

All of that is just as it should be, except for certain details: Everyone in the country has been informed about those events in the letter long before our letter has arrived. And then none of those letters ends with the conventional desire of the sender that the recipients of the letter, the primary organization of the League of Communists, return the letter to the sender, that is, to its own central committee, and tell him: our thoughts concerning these events are such-and-such, just exactly like yours, or, our thinking differs in some detail, so let us have a little talk in the general interest.... Party members in primary organizations still have not had such an occasion, and there are times when these letters are read out in party meetings where there is no quorum. Who knows what is the cause or the effect of this?

I think that this critical remark is also proven.

It remains for us to publish our self-criticism. In conclusion, we have had enough of this journalistic conceit and amour-propre. No one can be a force above society. No, above a self-managing society. And if someone wants to be that, let us tell him that he cannot. Who stands in our way?

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